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Laura A. Janda

A Semantic Analysis of the Russian Verbal Prefixes *za*-, *pere*-, *do*-, *and ot*-

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Chapter I

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

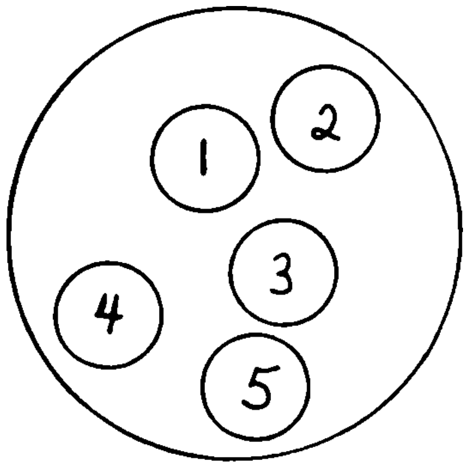
1.1 ONE QUESTION UNANSWERED IN TRADITIONAL DESCRIPTIONS

Traditional[1] descriptions of Russian verbal prefixes consist of lists of the "submeanings" or "homonyms" subsumed under a given prefixal morpheme. Although they do not explicitly use set theory terminology, since such descriptions make no mention of any relations between the submeanings of a prefix, set theory provides an accurate model of this approach to prefixal semantics. Figure 1 is a schematic set theory diagram of the submeanings of any given prefix, as suggested by traditional descriptions.

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[1] For the purposes of this dissertation, "traditional" refers to the description of Russian verbal prefixes in the Academy Grammar and to works by authors whose views on prefixal semantics do not differ significantly from those presented in the Academy Grammar. Specifically, I am referring to works by Bogusławski, Isačenko, Tixonov, Bondarko and the like.

Figure 1: Set Theory Model



Each circled number represents the set of instantiations of a given submeaning and all of these sets are gathered together in the larger set which represents the prefix as a whole. This model, although elegant in its simplicity, obscures the actual semantic structure of the prefix, which is neither as loose nor as random as the set theory representation implies. The inadequacies of this approach as well as the various alternatives which have been devised by linguists to correct these shortcomings will be discussed in detail throughout this dissertation.

In addition to the Venn diagram representation, the traditional description of Russian prefixes may be portrayed as a matrix of prefixes and submeanings. This type of representation is motivated by the use of virtually identical characterizations of submeanings of different prefixes. For example, *Grammatika russkogo jazyka,* 1960

(which will henceforth be referred to as the 1960 Academy Grammar) lists for every non-foreign, non-Church Slavic prefix except *v-*, *nad-*, and *pere-* a submeaning "*dovesti do rezul'tata/konca dejstvie*" ('bring the action to a result/end'). The prefixes *do-*, *za-*, and *ot-* each have an identically characterized submeaning "*dovesti do neželatel'nogo sostojanija*" ('bring to an undesirable state') which is very similar to that of *pere-*, "*s neželatel'no bol'šoj diitel'nost'ju i intensivnost'ju soveršit' dejstvie*" ('perform the action with undesirable duration or intensity').

In Figure 2 the columns represent the semantic make-up of given prefixes (p1, p2, ... pn) and the rows represent submeanings (s1, s2, ... sn). The presence of a plus sign signals the association of the prefix of the given column with the submeaning of the given row,

Figure 2: Matrix Representation of Submeanings

	p1	p2	p3	p4	p5	...	pn
s1	+						
s2	+	+		+			
s3				+			
s4	+	+					
s5			+				
.							
.							
sn	+	+	+	+	+		

whereas the absence of a sign signals the lack of such an association.

Similar to the set theory diagram, the matrix representation suggests that the semantic content of a prefix is relatively unstructured and random. In the matrix, however, the notion that a limited set of submeanings is shared by the prefixes is more salient. This assumption has had considerable influence on aspectology (as will be seen in Chapter 11) and lexicography. Dictionaries often give similar definitions of different prefixes when they allegedly signal the same submeaning. Both *pere-* and *za-* have the <excess> submeaning, hence the definitions given by Ožegov:

> PEREKORMIT' (PERE-'feed') -- nakormit' sliškom sytno, pričiniv vred 'feed too full, causing harm'
> ZAKORMIT' (ZA-'feed') -- nakormit' sverx mery ili pričinit' vred izlišnim kormleniem 'feed more than normal or harm by excessive feeding'

and the Academy Dictionary:

> PERESPAT' (PERE-'sleep') -- spat' sliškom dolgo, dol'še, čem nužno 'sleep too long, longer than necessary'
> ZASPAT'SJA (ZA-'sleep'-reflex) -- spat' sliškom dolgo 'sleep too long'.

Not only are the definitions of verbs of a given submeaning similar, regardless of which prefix is present, but occasionally a verb with one prefix is cross-referenced to the same base verb with a

different prefix. The Academy Dictionary, for example, lists *perexvalivat' pere-*'praise' 'praise too highly' under the definition of *zaxvalivat' za-*'praise' 'praise too highly' and *perekarmlivat' pere-*'feed' 'overfeed' under the definition of *dokarmlivat' do-*'feed' 'overfeed'. All of this evidence suggests that different prefixes may share a submeaning whose value is independent. In other words, returning to Figure 2,

1) The semantic realization of a given sn is equivalent for all instantiations of all p's which include it in their semantic make-up.

The primary aim of this dissertation is to test the validity of assumption 1). This assumption is of course only one of many which might be questioned and likewise the research described in the following seciton is only one of many tests that might be applied to the traditional model. This test is not, therefore, definitive, but is rather intended as a starting point for discussion.

1.2 WHY THE SET THEORY MODEL IS INADEQUATE

In spite of the similarities noted by dictionaries and by the Academy Grammar, there is reason to question whether instantiations of a given submeaning with different prefixes are indeed synonymous.

I will use the prefixes *za-*, *pere-*, *do-*, and *ot-*, all of which have a submeaning expressing <excess>[2] to exemplify the discussion of this

[2] Cf. the Academy Grammar's characterization of this submeaning for all of these prefixes cited above. *Ob-* and *na-* also participate in expressions of excess, albeit to a lesser extent than the four

question.

If 1) is a valid assumption, we would expect base verbs to show no particularity in the selection of a prefix in <excess>, and, conversely, we would expect the four prefixes to combine with the base verbs with roughly equal frequency. The data[3] given below, however, show that this is not the case.

Table 1: Multivalence of Base Verbs

Number of prefixes base verbs can combine with	Number of base verbs	Percent
all 4	4	1%
3	23	7%
2	44	14%
Total	71	22%

prefixes I have chosen, but they have been excluded from discussion in order to keep the dissertation to a manageable size. *Pre-* also prefixes about a dozen verbs denoting <excess>, but for the purposes of this work, it will be considered a variant of *pere-*.

[3] These tables present data compiled from 421 entries in the Academy Dictionary. These are, to my knowledge, *all* of the entries of verbs prefixed in *za-*, *pere-*, *do-* and *ot-* which denote <excess>. The total number of base verbs involved, 318, was used to compute the percent of verbs which could combine with two, three, or four of the prefixes in Table 1

Table 2: Exclusivity of Base Verbs to Prefixes

	za-	pere-	do-	ot-
total # of base verbs	166	141	100	14
# of verbs exclusive to given prefix	102	94	49	3
% of base verbs	61%	67%	49%	21%

As Table 1 indicates, only 22% of the base verbs which, when prefixed, can express <excess> are capable of combining with more than one prefix in this submeaning, and only 1% can combine with all four prefixes. Table 2 shows how many of the base verbs combine exclusively with one prefix in expressions of <excess>. Approximately 50% or more of base verbs prefixed by *za-*, *pere-*, and *do-* are prefix-specific and cannot select any other prefix to express <excess>.

A close examination of the verbs which are prefix-specific reveals a tendency to pattern by semantic group. Of the ninety-four verbs specific to *pere-*, thirty-seven denote 'food preparation' (*perevarit' pere-*'boil' 'boil too long', *pereperčit' pere-*'pepper' 'over pepper'),

twelve denote 'care for cloth' (*perekraxmalit' pere-*'starch' 'over starch', *pereuzit' pere-*'narrow' 'take in (a dress) too far'), five 'care for animals' (*peredoit' pere-*'milk' 'overmilk', *perepoit' pere-*'give to drink' 'give too much water to drink') and twenty-two 'work or engage in social activities' (*pereuserdstvovat' pere-*'be zealous' 'try too hard', *peremodničat' pere-*'be fashionable' 'be excessively fashionable'). These verbs may further be consolidated into a single group, under the heading 'activities which have a specific limit, determined by recipe, instructions, standard practice or other norm'. The four groups of verbs involved account for 80% of the verbs which combine exclusively with *pere-* in expressions of <excess>. Twenty-three, or nearly one-fourth, of the verbs specific to *za-* denote 'torture or beat' (*zapytat' za-*'torture' 'torment terribly much', *zaporot' za-*'flog' 'flog terribly much') and the majority of the remaining verbs describe an activity which, through excessive indulgence, can cause suffering (such as *zalaskat' za-*'caress' 'caress torturously much', *zaputešestvovat'sja za-*'travel'-reflex 'get worn out from traveling'). This semantic grouping of verbs suggests that each prefix has its own characteristic semantic structure which restricts its ability to combine with verbs. This inference, however, conflicts with assumption 1) and has no place in the traditional framework.

It is also important to mention that, since Tables 1 and 2 were constructed purely on the basis of the morphological cooccurrence of prefixes and verbal bases, the data represented in them are somewhat misleading. For many of the examples which are given in Table 1,

the base verb, although morphologically identical in all cases, performs distinctly different functions in sentences, depending on which prefix it is combined with. For example, there are several verbs which, when prefixed by *pere-*, can take only inanimate direct objects, but which take animate direct objects when prefixed by *za-*, as in examples 1) and 2).

1) On el xolodnuju, bezvkusnuju teljatinu, pil *pereparennyj* (*pere-*'steam'), gor'kovatyj čaj.

He ate cold, tasteless veal and drank *overbrewed*, bitter tea.

2) Anfisa deda v bane *zaparila* (*za-*'steam'), a to i ešče godov pjat' prožil by.

If Anfisa *had*n't *steamed* Grandpa in the bathhouse *too much*, he might have lived another five years or so.

The verb *est'* 'eat' undergoes little change in the formation of *pereest' pere-*'eat' 'overeat', but acquires a very specific connotation in *zaest'sja za-*'eat'-reflex 'by overindulging in delicacies, become a fussy eater'. Similarly, *pljasat'* 'dance' goes through a series of transformations with *za-*, *do-*, and *ot-*: *zapljasat' za-*'dance' 'dance (someone) silly', is transitive and its direct object is a person, *dopljasat'sja do-*'dance'-reflex 'dance one's way to trouble' is intransitive, *otpljasat' ot-*'dance' 'dance one's (legs, arms, etc.) off' is transitive and its direct object is always a body part.

Among verbs which combine with more than one prefix in <excess>, those which make a functional and/or semantic distinction (as described above) constitute the majority. For this reason, the degree of prefix-specificity of verbs is considerably greater than Tables 1 and 2 indicate.

On the basis of morphological compatibility alone, prefix interchangeability is demonstrably limited and a brief survey of the functional and semantic shifts associated with given prefixes suggests even stronger prefix-specificity. The question arises, given a full context, what is the actual interchangeability of prefixes in expressions of <excess>? In an attempt to answer this question, I constructed a questionnaire from forty-seven texts of varying lengths containing expressions of <excess> in the form of verbs prefixed in *za-*, *pere-*, *do-*, and ot- (see the reprinted questionnaire in the Appendix). Half of the texts were selected from books and articles published within the past twenty years, and the remainder were quoted from Russian literature cited by the Academy Dictionary. In none of the texts did the prefixed verb appear as part of an idiomatic or frozen expression. In the questionnaire itself, the verb in question (henceforth, "the target form") was removed from each text and placed below it alongside forms of the same verb combined with the remaining three prefixes. Respondents were asked to read each text and to state which of the four forms appearing below it was most appropriate, and whether or not any variants were possible.

Table 3 summarizes the morphological compatibility of verbs in the questionnaire examples with the four prefixes *za-*, *pere-*, *do-*, and ot- in expressions of <excess>.

Thirteen of the examples were morphologically prefix-specific and served as controls. All respondents consistently selected only target forms for the control examples, and therefore data from these examples are *not* included in the tables and discussion that follow. It is important to keep in mind that all of the data discussed below were gathered exclusively from base verbs which are morphologically compatible with more than one prefix in <excess>, and that these verbs comprise only 22% of the total number of base verbs which have prefixed forms in <excess> (see Table 1). The experiment was thus designed to test the interchangeability of prefixes specifically with those base verbs with which it is theoretically (morphologically) possible for more than one prefix to appear.

Table 3: Morphological Compatibility of Verbs and Prefixes in Questionnaire

# of examples containing verbs compatible with X prefixes, where X =	
1 (controls)	13 examples
2	7
3	20
4	7
total	47

Five adult native speakers of Russian from Moscow and Leningrad participated in this experiment, the results of which are summarized in Table 4. Whenever a consultant responded that only one prefix could be used, I asked again whether other prefixes might be acceptable in the given context in order to gather as much data as possible on variation.

Table 4: Results of the Questionnaire

	target form selected exclusively		target form preferred; variation		other form preferred; variation	
controls	65/65	100%				
verbs compatible with:						
2 prefixes	25/35	71%	8/35	23%	2/35	6%
3 prefixes	82/100	82%	8/100	8%	10/100	10%
4 prefixes	22/35	76%	12/35	34%	1/35	3%
totals (excluding controls)	129/170	76%	28/170	16%	13/170	8%

The resposes to the questionnaire were highly consistent and revealed a definite trend. As expected, no variation was allowed for verbs which are morphologically specific to a given prefix; the target form was always selected exclusively in response to the control examples. Verbs which could combine with two or more prefixes demonstrated a high degree of exclusivity in context, admitting only one prefix in 76% of all cases. When variation was allowed (only 24% of responses), the target form was usually preferred (16% out of 24%).

As the results of this experiment show, the actual interchangeability of prefixes expressing <excess> is very limited even when it is permitted morphologically. In the majority of cases, the information supplied by context eliminated interchangeability and caused the verb to be prefix-specific. Contrary to the traditional view, which considers the <excess> submeanings of *za-*, *pere-*, *do-* and *ot-* to be roughly equivalent, the above research indicates that each prefix expresses <excess> in its own characteristic way and that semantic overlap among these four prefixes is at best limited. These data contradict assumption 1) and suggest that a reevaluation of prefixal semantics is in order.

Chapter II

VARIOUS APPROACHES TO THE SEMANTICS OF RUSSIAN VERBAL PREFIXES

Chapter 1 contained a rough outline of the traditional description of prefixai semantics, along with a discussion of a phenomenon (the non-interchangeability of prefixes with <excess> submeanings) which calls that description into question. The purpose of the present chapter is to present a thorough inventory of traditional and other approaches to the semantics of Russian verbal prefixes and the difficulties posed to them by the language itself.

2.1 THE TRADITIONAL APPROACH

In implementing the traditional approach, instantiations of a given Russian verbal prefix are arranged in groups according to apparent semantic content and lists of these varying contents ("submeanings" or "homonyms") are drawn up. This approach is simple and reductionistic, its aim being to isolate all identifiable submeanings. It is appropriately modeled by set theory (as mentioned in Chapter 1) because: a) it implies no relations between submeanings (i.e., it is atomistic), and b) it suggests that all submeanings have equal status (i.e., no submeaning is more central than any other). In addition, the lists of submeanings are gathered together in a matrix (see

Figure 2). An assumption (labeled 1) and restated in 2.1.1 below) inherent in this approach, was, however, found to be invalid. The following is a list of questions that the traditional approach either does not address or fails to solve.

2.1.1 Identity of submeanings

What distinguishes seemingly identical submeanings of different prefixes?

The traditional approach cannot answer this question because it does not recognize any consistent differences in the instantiation of what is considered to be one submeaning of different prefixes. Actual usage of verbal prefixes deviates from what we would expect according to the traditional model and elicits several additional questions, which will be taken up in turn below. These questions are related to each other and overlap somewhat, but they bring to light some of the shortcomings of the traditional approach.

2.1.2 System of combination

What is the system for combining verbs with prefixes?

In the traditional model the choice of a prefix for a given verb appears to be no more than an arbitrary selection of an item from a set of equipollent elements. The research discussed in Chapter 1 indicates, however, that this process is all but random and that

speakers agree in their choice of prefixes. Nor is this agreement merely a matter of convention, since the introduction of new verbs into the lexicon does not evoke various idiosyncratic prefixed collocations; rather speakers unanimously associate the same prefixes with given verbs. *Klejmit'* 'brand' and *kal'kulirovat'* 'calculate' form their perfectives with *za-* and *s-*, respectively. The ease and consistency with which new verbs are integrated into the prefixal system testifies to the dynamic character of its semantic structure. This phenomenon, as well as the structure it betrays, is unfortunately ignored in traditional descriptions.

2.1.3 Prediction

> Given a base verb and a prefix, which submeaning(s) will be instantiated?

Not only does the traditional model fail to predict which prefix will be associated with a given verb, but, conversely, it cannot determine what submeaning or submeanings of a prefix will be instantiated when it is combined with a given verb. However, even when presented with verbs that they did not know, the native speakers I consulted were able to identify and describe the submeaning of the prefixed verb once I defined the base verb for them. It is apparent that Russian has at least a partial system for determining what submeanings of a prefix will be present, based on the meaning of the base verb, but any mention of this is absent from traditional descriptions.

2.1.4 Coherence of submeanings

Is there any relationship between the submeanings of a given prefix?

The traditional model presents a list of disjoint submeanings (cf. the disunion of subsets in Figure 1) devoid of any organization. To emphasize this supposed discontinuity, some Slavists (Axmanova (1957) and Isačenko (1962)) speak of prefixal homonyms. My consultants, however, insisted that all examples of a given prefixal morpheme instantiated one and the same prefix, suggesting that psychological unity underlies the morphological identity of a given prefix. If this is so, the submeanings of a prefix must be related to each other, in spite of the fact that the traditional model does not provide a means for expressing inter-submeaning relations.

2.1.5 Number of submeanings

How many submeanings does a given prefix have?

The number of submeanings postulated for a given prefix varies widely and seems to be determined only by how doggedly a given scholar choses to carry out the atomistic tendencies of traditional description. Bogusławski (1963), for example, lists about three times as many submeanings as the Academy Dictionary and, as Gallant (1979) has pointed out, the identification of ever more narrowly-defined submeanings could be pursued indefinitely, producing a

potentially infinite list. If submeanings do exist, it should be possible for scholars to agree on their quantity and identity.

2.1.6 Classification

> Can every instantiation of a prefix be identified with a single submeaning?

If one makes a serious attempt to classify prefixed verbs in dictionary entries and in examples from literature according to submeaning, this turns out to be a much more difficult and less clear-cut task than the traditional description suggests. Many verbs are ambiguous and assigning them to one submeaning may be done only arbitrarily. Is *zabolet'* *za-*'hurt' 'fall ill' an example of <change of state> or <inchoative>? Is *zaplesnevet'* *za-*'grow moldy' 'grow moldy' an example of <covering> or <change of state>? In addition, a few prefixed verbs are in isolation, having no association with any submeaning. *Zabyt'* *za-*'be' 'forget' seems to bear no relation to the submeanings of *za-* and to constitute an isolated example. There is no place for multiply-classifiable and unclassifiable prefixed verbs in the traditional model.

2.1.7 "Empty" prefixes

> Are there empty prefixes?

For every prefix (except foreign and Church Slavic prefixes and *v-*, *nad-*, *pere-*,) the Academy Grammar lists a submeaning "dovesti do rezul'tata/konca dejstvie." In these cases it is customary to talk about empty prefixes which carry no meaning except "perfective." Arguments defending the existence of empty prefixes are fraught with problems. According to Tixonov (1962), who is perhaps the most outspoken proponent of empty prefixes, they differ in principle from prefixes having real meaning; they signal only an internal limit to the process -- the natural outcome of the process. The term "natural outcome" is never defined and the vagueness of this notion has resulted in significant disagreement among lexicographers in the identification of verbs having empty prefixes, as Isačenko (1962) and Forsyth (1970) have pointed out. Further scrutiny of the empty prefix problem yields more questions.

1. What causes prefixes to become empty? Tixonov states that prefixes that have lost their spatial meaning or are rarely used and unproductive in their spatial meaning are candidates for empty prefixes. This statement may be relevant to *po-* and *iz-*, but what about the other thirteen prefixes which have empty submeanings, but whose spatial submeanings are vigorous and productive: *na-*, *o(b)-*, *ot-*, *vz-*, *vy-*, *do-*, *za-*, *pod-*, *pri-*, *pro-*, *raz-*, *s-*, *u-*? Evidently the vitality of the spatial submeaning cannnot be correlated with the presence or absence of an empty submeaning.

2. Is there any way to characterize the base verbs which attract empty prefixes? Or, conversely, why does a given verb use one empty prefix and not another? Tixonov (1961, 1962) repeatedly insists that the base verbs constitute semantic groups, but fails to characterize them and is forced to list exceptions which are unsystematic.
3. Is the simplex verb indeed lexically identical to its empty-prefixed perfective? Typically the dictionary entries of the two forms are compared in an attempt to illustrate this point. Maslov (1958), Avilova (1959) and Tixonov (1962) implement this technique, producing similar results, although they interpret them differently. In every case (the number of examples is far from significant, each author presents only one or two pairs of verbs which are classic cases of empty prefixation, e.g., *na/pisat' na/*-'write' 'write', *s/delat' s/*-'do' 'do', *po/stroit' po/*-'build' 'build'), the empty-prefixed perfective is found to be more limited in semantic scope than the simplex verb. Maslov, for example, gives three meanings of *pisat'* 'write' (1) 'be good for writing', 2) 'produce literature', 3) 'work for the printed media') which are excluded by the prefixed perfective *napisat' na*-'write' 'write' and concludes that the so-called empty prefixes carry more than purely grammatical meaning. Tixonov and Avilova, however, persist in claiming that despite its limitations, the empty-prefixed verb is semantically equal to its simplex base,

thereby implying that equality and "emptiness" are relative, rather than absolute, terms. Avilova (1959) states that with some verbs a supplementary meaning introduced by the prefix is "clearer" than with others. Tixonov asserts that there is not a clear boundary between "purely aspectual" (i.e. empty) and "lexical" manifestations of prefixes. He also speaks about the gradual weakening of the meaning of prefixes that are empty. Thus adherents of the empty prefix hypothesis have concluded that absolute semantic identity of the prefixed perfective with the base is *not* requisite for empty prefixes and that in some instantiations a prefix can be more empty than in others. Given these guidelines it is difficult to understand how we are to identify empty prefixes: how are we to know when the prefix is empty enough and the prefixed verb semantically equal enough to the base so that the prefix may be designated as empty? Tixonov and Avilova do not draw any definitive lines.

4. What is the status of imperfective derivation from empty-prefixed perfectives? Forsyth (1970:41) uses the existence of a derived imperfective as a criterion for sorting out non-empty and empty prefixes. According to him, empty-prefixed verbs do not form derived imperfectives: "If any 'new' meaning were perceptible in such perfectives as _sdelat'_, _napisat'_ and _razbudit'_, imperfectives such as _*sdelyvat'_, _*napisyvat'_, _*razbuždat'/razbuživat'_ would have come into general use."

Tixonov (1958) does not agree, nor could he, as a true proponent of empty prefixes, since this definition would drastically reduce the incidence of empty prefixation, which would be a marginal phenomenon of much less interest. But if a secondary imperfective *can* be derived from an empty prefixed verb, is it semantically identical to the simplex base? From Isačenko's (1962) point of view, the answer to this question was a definite "No" and it clinched his argument against the existence of empty prefixes. Following the reasoning of empty prefix proponents, he argued that if the prefix were indeed empty, then the simplex and the derived imperfective would be synonyms. Isačenko rejected the possibility that the members of pairs such as *čitat'* 'read' and *pročityvat' pro*-'read' 'be reading through' could be considered synonymous. Tixonov (1958) insists, however, that secondary imperfectives of empty-prefixed verbs *are* synonyms of the corresponding bases, although their usage is more limited. Here Tixonov and Isačenko stand at loggerheads, with no way to reconcile their differences, since there is no absolute scale for judging when the base and derived imperfective are "equal enough" to be considered synonyms. Isačenko, however, does seem to have an edge -- why would Russian derive secondary imperfectives if their semantic niche were already filled to satisfaction by the simplex verb? It is impossible to arbitrate an unequivocal solution to this disagreement due to the subjective framework of the given arguments.

5. Can a prefix (or any morpheme) turn its meaning on and off? If we compare the two verbs *sletet'* *s*-'fly' 'fly down, off' and *sdelat'* *s*-'do' 'do', we find that, according to traditional descriptions, the prefix *s*- in the first example carries the semantic freight of 'down, off', whereas in the second example it is empty. Is there any linguistic precedent for this sort of phenomenon? This question, which must be answered affimatively if the empty prefix hypothesis is to be accepted, is not discussed in the literature. I do not know of any undisputed[*] example of a morpheme in any language which embodies meaning in some cases and which is capable of altogether suppressing its meaning in other cases. A corollary of this question is suggested by Avilova's observation that prefixes containing meaning engage in form-formation, since the perfective partner of a verb is but another form of that verb: can a prefix (or any morpheme) be at times derivational and at other times inflectional? Perhaps there are some morphemes in extant languages which *can* turn their meanings on and off and which *can* alternate between derivational and inflectional functions. If there are morphemes with such

[*] There are linguists (e.g., Curme (1914) and Fraser (1976)) who claim that some verb-particle constructions in English contain empty particles which signal only "perfectivity." Examples are *out* in *figure out, eke out up* in *make up*. The function of particles in these constructions closely parallels that of prefixes in Russian verbs. The semantic emptiness of these particles is, however, anything but an established fact. Lindner 1982 contains a discussion of English empty particles and a strong argument *against* their existence.

properties, they deserve special investigation. In the meantime, we must be very cautious about attributing such properties to morphemes since the existence of such properties is uncertain and, if they do exist, the role of morphemes in language in general will have to be reexamined.

In addition to inconsistencies in the arguments supporting empty prefixes (such as Tixonov's claim that empty prefixes are generally those whose spatial meaning is weak and unproductive, see above), the empty prefix hypothesis requires us to accept several questionable assumptions: a) that the evaluation of the terms "empty" and "equal" is relative and subjective (rather than absolute, as is generally accepted) b) that the simplex verb is semantically equivalent to the imperfective derived from its empty-prefixed perfective c) that prefixal morphemes turn their meanings on and off, alternating between derivational and inflectional functions. If any one of these prerequisites cannot be tolerated theoretically, then the empty prefix hypothesis must be rejected. The presence of three such strong obstacles to the acceptance of empty prefixes is certainly enough to make us question their existence. Van Schooneveld (1958) attacked the notion of empty prefixes not on the basis of the above objections, but because he perceived semantic redundancy on the part of the verb and prefix of so-called empty-prefixed verbs. Since the meanings of the prefix and verb overlap,

that of the prefix is less salient and it appears to be empty. Van Schooneveld considers empty prefixation an illusory phenomenon and presents a strong, albeit brief argument to this effect. Given the multitude of problems associated with empty prefixation, it is reasonable to accept van Schooneveld's hypothesis that empty prefixes are an artifact of the linguist's perception, motivated by semantic overlap on the part of the verb and prefix.

2.1.8 Summary of questions

The preceding sections of this chapter have presented questions and problems which the traditional approach to prefixal semantics does not address and which cannot be resolved given the traditional framework. All of these questions concern the organization of meaning in prefixes, an issue that has traditionally been sidestepped. In order to cope with these problems one at least has to make a beginning at reexamining the semantic structure of verbal prefixes.

2.2 STRUCTURALIST APPROACHES

Several of the problems listed above have not gone unnoticed by structuralists[5] who have turned their attention to Russian verbal

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[5] Here I am using the term "structuralist" rather loosely. For the purposes of this dissertation "structuralists" includes all contemporary Slavists who have presented interpretations of (prefixal) semantics which do not deviate significantly from the structuralist approach to meaning and do not, therefore, represent altogether different approaches.

prefixes. As a reaction to the fractured view of the prefix presented by traditional scholars, the tendency among structuralists has been to search for a semantic invariant which would unify the submeanings of a given prefix, although this search has yielded various results. Indeed, because of the basic problem of invariance, it has proved very difficult to overcome these difficulties, which the structuralists addressed. Isačenko (1962) was also moved to engage in this search. He explored the submeanings of the prefix *s-*, seeking semantic unity, but concluded that there was none since he could not isolate an invariant. This line of reasoning lead Isačenko back to the traditional description of prefixal semantics in spite of his own misgivings and his rejection of the notion of empty prefixes.

2.2.1 Flier 1975

Flier rejected traditional atomistic approaches to prefixai semantics because they ignore the possibility of relationships existing between submeanings. The goal of his approach is to represent the semantic unity of a given prefix by means of invariant semantic features. In keeping with structuralist distinctive feature theory, each prefix is said to be either marked or unmarked for each of a small and finite set of semantic features. He analyzes four verbal prefixes (*po-*, *pere-*, *pro-*, *ob-*) in terms of three semantic features; *ob-*, for example, is "+spanned, +lateral, -domainial." Thus Flier claimed that "each prefixal morpheme is semiotically linked with an invariant meaning manifested as variants depending on syntactic and lexical

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environment," echoing Jakobson's Gesamt- and Grundbedeutung. Flier's article constitutes a significant step toward overcoming the atomism of traditional descriptions, an attempt to expose the unity behind the submeanings. Flier also discussed the function of prefixal meaning in the prefixed verb (a matter previously ignored -- it had been heretofore assumed that the meaning of the prefix is somehow added to that of the base verb), which he envisioned as an interaction between the prefix and the verb, likening prefixes to "prisms or camera angles, which alter the perspective of a given object...they flesh out perspectives inherent in the object itself." Both Flier's unified view of the prefix and his comments on the interactive dynamics of prefixal and verbal semantics are important contributions. In his effort to unify the submeanings of the prefix, however, he may have oversimplified its internal semantic structure. As a result, Flier's semantic features are quite abstract, lacking the fine tuning needed to account for the actual variety of submeanings (how, for example, can the feature specifications "+spanned, -lateral, -domainial" account for the diversity of submeanings present in *pere-* and at the same time distinguish them from the submeanings present in other prefixes?). In positing invariant features, he has been forced to sacrifice internal diversification to semantic unity. This problem is somewhat alleviated by the connotations which Flier associates with given features (i.e., -lateral can signal "directness" or "error") which are insightful and would be more valuable if they

were systematized and integrated with the rest of his model.[6]

2.2.2 van Schooneveld 1978

Van Schooneveld's approach to the semantics of Russian verbal prefixes (and prepositions) is very similar to that found in Flier 1975, although he carried it out on a much more grandiose scale. In his ambitious *Semantic Transmutations*, van Schooneveld tackles the entire set of Russian prefixes and prepositions (which he regards as an integrated set, not making any major distinctions between its two kinds of members) and endeavors to uncover the systematicity of their meanings. He has devised a distinctive feature hierarchy, in order of increasing "alienation of the modifier from the modified and from the prepositional modification situation": "dimensionality," "duplication," "extension," "restrictedness," and "objectiveness." His volume does contain many insightful observations of the meanings of individual prefixes, such as:

> As a preverb *za-* should mean that at the end of the verbal process a situation will follow which is both (a) ascertainable only during the process -- that is to say , this situation is not a natural consequence of that process; and (b) dependent on the volition of the subject of the verb -- that is to say, an agens ascertainable only in the narrated situation. ... *Za-* says that at the end of the verbal process the modified will be in a relationship to an unpredictable element. The unpredictability consists in the fact that this element is directly identifiable with neither the subject or the object...nor with an element directly inherent in the lexical meaning of the verb.

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[6] Indeed, Flier suggests in this article that the semantic connotations of features demand further investigation.

but it also includes dubious statements that seem to have been invented in order to incorporate recalcitrant examples into his system:

> *Zakričat'* 'to begin to shout' means that in order to reach the final situation, 'shouting', the preceding stage is 'shouting'. *Zakričat'* means, then, 'to shout beyond shouting', or rather, 'to shout in such a way that the shouting will pass the initial factuality of shouting'.

Semantic Transmutations suffers from the same restrictions as Flier 1975: because emphasis is placed on the semantic unity of the prefix almost to the exclusion of variation, the definitions of the prefixes in terms of invariant semantic features are too vague and abstract to capture the variations in meaning of individual instantiations. He characterizes *na-*, for example, as unmarked: "the meaning of the preverb reduces to 'manifestation', 'evidence'." How, then, would one explain the variety and distinctiveness of the submeanings which *na-*, allegedly devoid of semantic features, comprehends, such as its quantitative meaning (*napadat' na-*'fall' 'fall in great quantity') or its submeaning "train" (*naezdit' na-*'ride' 'break a horse')? The gap between van Schooneveld's theoretical system of meaning and the meaning of actual examples of prefixed verbs can be bridged only by a straining leap of both the intellect and the imagination. Both van Schooneveld and Flier have reacted against the overly atomistic traditional descriptions by seeking semantic invariants and focusing on semantic unity, yet their approach downplays the true diversity manifest in concrete examples.

2.2.3 Gallant 1979

Dismayed by the seemingly unbounded lists of submeanings which were generated by traditional scholars such as Bogusławski (1963), Gallant sought to unify the prefix and he, too, posited invariant features. According to him, each prefix may be marked for either "vertical" or "horizontal" plus one "relational" feature e.g., *vz-* is "+horizontal, +transgression." Gallant's approach differs in that the features do not signal semantic content on the part of the prefix, but rather specify the direction (in an abstract sense) of the verbal action. In Gallant's view, prefixes do not embody independent meaning, but act as catalysts in the semantics of the verb, selecting and fleshing out meanings already present in the verbal base. Gallant illustrates his point with verbs prefixed in *vz-*, trying with every example to match the dictionary definition of the prefixed verb with at least one of the definitions given for the corresponding simplex verb. Unfortunately his results are less persuasive than his argument: in examining approximately 200 verbs, in 38 examples he failed to find a definition of the simplex verb which matched that of the vz-prefixed perfective, these he listed as having "no equivalent" in the simplex verb. If the prefix, as Gallant claims, is semantically hollow, bringing no meaning to the prefix-verb collocation, how can a prefixed verb have a meaning not present in the simplex? Contrary to his own hypothesis of prefixal semantics (or, in this case, the lack thereof), Gallant must admit to the existence of prefixed verbs which have no simplex correlates, since such examples are legion in Russian, to cite a few:

ZA-EST' (za-'eat') -- 'get jammed (of a machine)'

ZA-ŠIBIT' (za-'hit') -- 'drink (alcohol)'

RAZ-NESTI coll. (raz-'carry') -- 'berate'

POD-DELAT' (pod-'do') -- 'falsify'.

In addition to this problem, Gallant's approach shares the limitations of Flier 1975 and van Schooneveld 1978. Since he has posited abstract invariants in an attempt to describe the prefix as a unified whole, Gallant has likewise been forced to deny its real variegation.

2.2.4 Summary of structuralist approaches

Flier, van Schooneveld and Gallant all aimed to correct what they viewed as excessive atomism on the part of traditional scholars by isolating invariant features which would reveal the semantic unity of the prefix. Despite individual differences in their understanding of the semantic content of the prefix and how it interacts with that of the base verb, all three presented essentially the same approach. It, appears, however, that, due to their structuralist framework, they were forced to overcompensate for the reductionism of their predecessors, attributing semantic homogeneity to prefixes which are in fact varicolored. Thus the structuralists strove to solve the problem inherent in the traditional approach listed above in 2.1.4 "Coherence of submeanings" and, as a corollary, rejected the existence of empty prefixes (2.1.7), but several problems remained.[7]

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[7] Flier (1975), for instance, has recognized the need to study "the systemic interrelation of meaning types on both the intra- and interprefixal planes," although the main focus of his article is on

2.3 INVARIANCE AND MEANING

Before exploring alternative ways of modeling prefixal semantics, it is necessary to compare the assumptions made by traditional and structuralist scholars about the nature of prefixal meaning and to examine how these assumptions led them to draw the conclusions they did.

2.3.1 Diversity vs unity

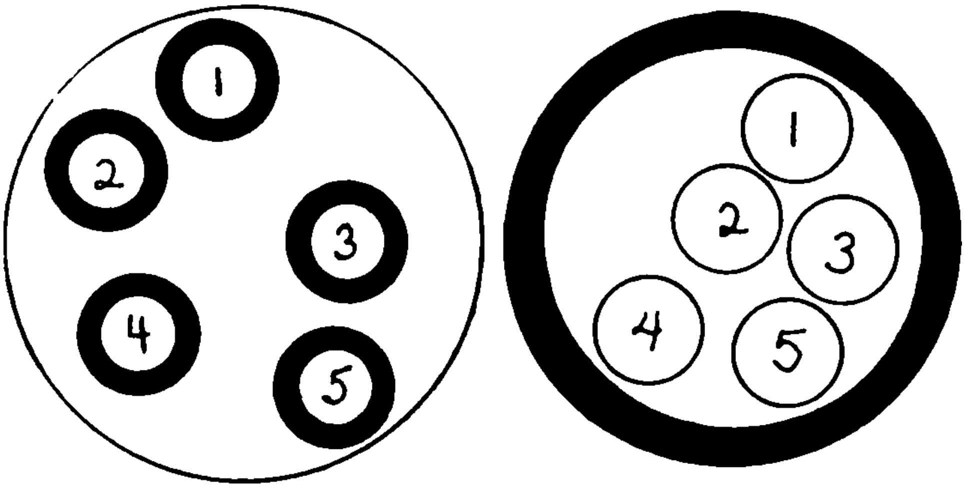
In the semantics of Russian verbal prefixes, two opposite phenomena compete for the linguist's attention: the diversity of instantiations of a given prefix and the tangible yet elusive unity they betray. Thus far it has not been possible to reconcile these aspects of diversity and unity; one of these properties is typically favored to the virtual exclusion of the other. Traditional descriptions concentrated on diversity, positing sharp distinctions between submeanings (see Figure 3). In this model, the submeanings behave like hard billiard balls, unable to interact with each other (emphasized in the figure by the heavy lines) and the only thing that corrals them into one set is the shape of the morpheme which they share (represented by a thin line). Structuralists abolished the distinctions between submeanings and focused on gathering all the instantiations of a given prefix together in one unified set. Since each approach concentrates on only one of the basic properties of prefixal semantics, neither captures both of them: the traditional model denies the unity of

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the former rather than the latter.

Figure 3: Traditional and Structuralist Models

Traditional model   Structuralist model



submeanings and the structuralist model produces a mass of instantiations, the diversity of which must be handled by additional specifications such as the "connotations" of Flier's features. The schematic diagrams in Figure 3 are admittedly an oversimplification, but they emphasize the fact that neither the traditional nor the structuralist approach had the apparatus to thoroughly integrate both unity and diversity in semantic analysis.

2.3.2 The common denominator

Despite differences pointed out above, the traditional and structuralist concepts of meaning are very similar and are founded on identical assumptions, as will be shown below.

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The meaning of any lexical item is comprehended by the group of objects or concepts it signals. Thus the meaning of the word *chair* must in some way include all of the objects which we refer to as "chairs." This group of objects or concepts can be termed a category. Obviously the structure and properties attributed to the category are crucial to an understanding of meaning. As Lakoff (1982:11) points out, "linguists have simply taken for granted the classical theory of categorization which has been with us since the time of Aristotle, and which has been given a contemporary mathematical treatment in terms of set-theoretical models." This is not surprising, since classical set theory has always been the favored, if not exclusive, way of modeling groups of objects or other entities. Contemporary linguistics traces its philosophical roots to the positivist movement, which arose in the mid-nineteenth century, hallmarks of which were scientific empiricism, grounded in mathematical logic. In this atmosphere, it is clear that set theory would be unhesitatingly preferred as a model for meaning. Positivists of the Vienna Circle struggled to formulate an empirically verifiable criterion[8] of meaningfulness without success. Although Husserl, who had a profound influence on the work of Roman Jakobson and through him on structuralism, broke away from this movement, his teachers were positivists and he remained faithful to reductionism and mathematical logic. Even generative grammar, which arose as a

[8] As will be seen below, the notion of criteria is inherent to a set theory model of meaning.

reaction against positivism, retained the classical set-theoretical model of the category.[9]

Lakoff (1982) outlines the properties of categories according to classical set theory:

1. clear boundaries -- everything either is or is not a member of the category
2. shared properties -- necessary and sufficient conditions for category membership (i.e., invariants)[10]
3. uniformity -- all category members are equal and all conditions for membership are equal
4. inflexibility -- category boundaries are immutable
5. internal definition -- category definitions do not take factors external to the category itself (other categories, the system as a whole) into account.

Clearly the rigorous objective properties of classical set theory are in keeping with the "scientific" approach to language promoted by positivism. A set theory model of meaning requires only that the linguist determine the criteria which define the category. Membership vs. non-membership of instantiations is deduced automatically from the presence vs. absence of the criteria and is absolute. The linguist's

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[9] cf. Lakoff (1982), who cites the generativists' use of features to define sets.

[10] "Shared properties," "necessary and sufficient conditions," "criteria," and "invariants" are all terms for one and the same thing. Likewise note the multiplicity of names for theories of meaning based on set theory, "checklist," "discrete semantic feature," "minimal definition," to name a few.

work would theoretically be finished once the criteria had been established since classical sets have no internal structure and are uninfluenced by external factors. Both the traditional and the structuralist approaches to prefixal semantics were modeled after classical set theory, since the goal of both approaches was to discover criteria which would include all members of a category (be it a submeaning or a prefix as a whole) while excluding all non-members.

Every property of sets is strictly prescribed by classical theory except one -- the actual membership criteria which are ascribed to each set. This is the only variable allowed in the set theory model which is under the linguist's control. When the linguist selects appropriate criteria for a category, there is potential for variation along the parameter of specificity. It is up to the linguist to decide how specific or abstract the criteria should be. Thus a scale of specificity/abstractness is inherent to this framework. It is precisely their place in this spectrum of specificity which differentiates the traditional and structuralist approaches: they represent the two extremes. As discussed above, the traditional approach has relatively specific criteria (invariants), producing therefore relatively small sets (submeanings), whereas the structualist approach uses relatively abstract criteria to define relatively large sets (whole prefixes). It is evident that, except for variations in relative specificity, the traditional and structuralist approaches are virtually identical in their conception of the nature of meaning, being essentially logical alternatives of a single approach.

2.3.3 The paradox of the invariant

Although some of the drawbacks of the traditional and structuralist approaches are obviously the direct result of applying classical set theory (which necessarily ignores both infra- and extrastructure and requires that membership be absolute), one might ask whether it is possible to solve these problems within the given set-theoretical framework. Perhaps both the traditional and the structuralist approaches are just too extreme and it is possible to find appropriate criteria, a "happy medium" on the scale of specificity/abstractness. It turns out, however, that this is not the case. Both Fillmore (1975, 1978) and Langacker (1982) have demonstrated that no matter how abstract or specific the criteria are, it is impossible to write adequate definitions in terms of necessary and sufficient conditions. Not only are all such definitions *either* too narrow, excluding valid members, or too broad, including non-members, but frequently they are *both* too narrow and too broad at the same time. This claim may seem at first glance to be oxymoronic, but examples reveal that it is true and non-contradictory. If we were to try to define the word *chair*, using necessary and sufficient criteria, we might start with the following definition:

> D1 "a chair is a four-legged object with a back upon which people sit"

Soon we would realize, however, that this definition is inadequate since it exludes barber chairs (having one leg) and beanbag chairs (having neither legs nor back). Based on this observation we might make our definition more abstract:

D2 "a chair is an object upon which people sit"

Upon encountering an example like *broken chair* we would again be dissatisfied with our definition and might refine it to read:

D3 "a chair is an object that was made for people to sit on"

In each case we found fault with the given definition because it was perceived to be either too narrow or too broad. The fact is that all three definitions are *both* too narrow and too broad. D1, D2, and D3 all exclude the valid member *toy chair*, yet include the non-member *bench*. In addition, D2 and D3 include the non-members *stool*, *bleachers*, *swing*, *see-saw*, *sofa*, and *rocking horse*. No matter how we may try to adjust the specificity/abstractness of successive definitions, the result will be the same: our definition will be too narrow and/or too broad.

Similarly, any description of prefixai semantics using invariants will either be too atomistic (traditional), or too vague (structuralist). As seen above, these two kinds of descriptions are in fact the two endpoints of the spectrum of abstractness inherent in a theory of meaning that has semantic invariance as its central concept. Given the assumptions that the traditional and structuralist descriptions hold in common, both may be referred to as "classical." The application of this theory produces a paradox, since two very real aspects of meaning, the variety of specific instantiations and the unity which encompasses them, are irreconcilably opposed in this framework.

2.3.4 Other arguments against invariance

In addition to the paradox described above which arises when semantic invariance is used as a criterion for meaning, there are several phenomena which do not have any place in this model. Although most of these phenomena are not directly relevant to prefixal semantics, they all point out further inadequacies of the theory of meaning involved.

1. Fillmore (1978) found the "minimal definition" principle (that the semantic description of each vocabulary item should consist of exactly those features which will distinguish it from every other item and no more) unsatisfactory since "adding or subtracting a single item will often call for revisions in large sectors of the lexicon." Sangster (1982) provides (albeit unwittingly) an excellent example of this potential of the "minimal definition" principle. In praising the eficiency of distinctive features, Sangster claims that "a system of twelve oppositions can distinguish 2^{12} or 4096 verbs." Given the "minimal definition" principle, this is true, but what happens when the language in question borrows one new verb? Logically it would need to add a thirteenth feature and all other extant verbs would now have to have their feature specifications updated to indicate the presence or absence of that feature. It does not seem reasonable to assume that this is a realistic description of what actually happens. Besides, what would become of the 4095 "vacancies" created by the addition of a thirteenth feature?

2. Lakoff (1982) gives many examples of phenomena which should not exist, given the set-theoretical principles of clear boundaries and uniformity. Gradience is a property of many adjectives, expressed by adverbs such as *very*, *somewhat*, *not very*. If category membership were indeed absolute, then collocations such as *extremely hot*, *somewhat tired* would be as nonsensical as **a little bit pregnant*. With nouns, membership gradience is expressed by modifiers such as *a good/poor example of*, *typical*, *representative*. An ostrich, for example is a poor example of a bird, but a robin is a representative bird.
3. In some cases there are instantiations which belong to either or both of two categories at once. Lakoff (1982) gives this example: "A color in between blue and green might not be considered a very good example of either category, but it might be a color you that could call blue or you could call geen, depending on the circumstances." Likewise, in 2.1.6 it was suggested that prefixal submeanings also overlap on occassion.
4. If instantiations of meaning were indeed arranged in sets, then multiple-word collocations which have a single referent should select items in the intersection of the sets associated with the words involved. Lakoff (1982) lists numerous exceptions to this corollary of the classical set theory model of meaning. For example, *electrical engineer* does not refer to the

intersection of the set of electrical things and the set of engineeers and *topless bar* does not refer to the intersection of the set of topless things and the set of bars.

5. Perhaps the most persuasive argument against the use of invariants was provided by one of their most ardent proponents, Roman Jakobson. Jakobson discusses the nature of the invariant at some length, concluding that its most essential characteristic is that it is *relative* rather than absolute. Can a noun like *invariant* really be correctly modified by the adjective *relative*? Is an invariant that allows variation really an *in*variant? It seems that Jakobson himself felt the need to hedge on this issue and by doing so called the whole notion of invariance into question.

2.4 SUMMARY

In this chapter the traditional and structuralist approaches to prefixal semantics were briefly outlined. It was shown that both types of approach are based on the same understanding of the nature of meaning. Both assume that the relationship between instantiations and meaning can be felicitously modeled after classical sets and that semantic invariance is essential in determining set membership. Since, however, these basic assumptions do not reflect the true semantic structure of Russian verbal prefixes, the two approaches share many of the same difficulties. In addition to the problems posed by prefixes, there are other phenomena (of English) which

indicate that the classical set-theory model of meaning is not appropriate for describing natural languages. Some sort of modification of extant approaches appears to be in order.

Chapter III

THE MODIFIED STRUCTURALIST APPROACH

> Uttering a word is like striking a note on the keyboard of the imagination.
>
> --Ludwig Wittgenstein

3.1 EVIDENCE FROM PSYCHOLOGY

Linguistics is, of course, not the only field which is dominated by a set-theory model of categorization. This model of categorization is prevalent throughout the sciences, all of which take their cues from mathematics. Likewise in psychology, human cognitive categorization has traditionally been assumed to be set-theoretical in nature. Since human cognitive categories are precisely what natural language encodes, a theory of human cognitive categorization should be easily translatable into a theory of linguistic categorization. In fact, there should be no significant discrepancies between the two -- our best psychological theory of categorization should closely parallel our best linguistic theory of the same. Indeed, these two branches of science maintained virtually identical theories of categorization until the early 1970's, when the need for change was recognized by a group of psychologists, thus creating a gap that only a few linguists have recently begun to bridge.

Eleanor Rosch, a psychologist at the University of California, Berkeley, questioned the set-theoretical model of cognitive categorization in a series of articles (1973a, 1973b, 1978, Mervis and Rosch 1981) and presented various types of experimental evidence which contradicted this model. Her aim was to test whether certain properties of classical sets -- a) clear-cut boundaries, b) all members have equal status, c) membership determined by presence vs. absence of defining attributes -- were indeed present in human cognitive categories. The results of Rosch's research did not support the presence of any of these properties in cognitive categorization. She taught primitive peoples who lacked linguistic terms for colors and for basic shapes arbitrary categories involving these elements (1973a), and discovered, contrary to b) above, that categories have prototypes (i.e., "best examples") and, contrary to c), that subjects "define" a category as a group of variations on the prototype rather than by isolating primitives or attributes and using them as criteria for determining category membership. In another series of experiments conducted in the U.S., subjects were asked to rate the membership of various objects to given categories. Rosch discovered, contrary to a), that categories do not have absolute boundaries. Questions about centrality or peripherality of category membership were found to be meaningful to subjects; such questions could be answered quickly, and subjects agreed with each other in their ratings of instances.

In addition to exposing the inadequacies of the traditional theory, Rosch describes a theory suggested by her research (Mervis and Rosch 1981, Rosch 1978), briefly outlined below:

> --Categories are usually processed holistically, they are internally structured by gradients of representativeness and their boundaries are not necessarily definite.
> --All members are not equally representative of their category, poorer members are likely to contain attributes from the correlated attribute clusters of other categories.

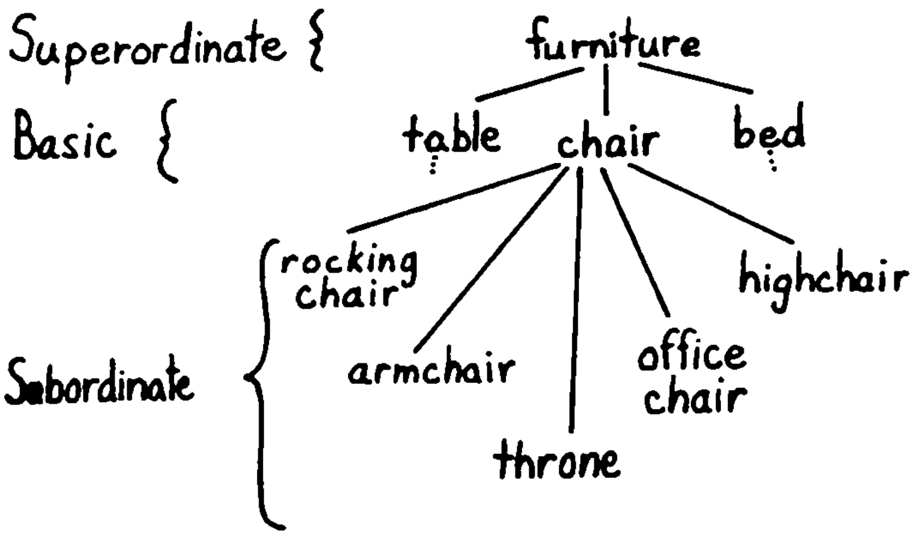
The most significant and surprising claim of her theory is that, although traditional reductionism demands that the smallest indivisible elements be discovered and recognized as the primitives or basic building blocks of any system, in cognitive categorization this is not the case. Rosch identifies what she calls the "basic level," which does not contain primitives and is "simple" not in the reductionist sense, but in a cognitive sense.

> "The basic level is the most general level at which a) a person uses similar motor actions for interacting with the category members, b) category members have similar overall shapes, and c) a mental image can reflect the entire category. The basic level is the one at which adults spontaneously name objects. Labels for basic level categories are unmarked linguistically -- that is, words at this level are used in normal everyday conversation."

Categories are gestalts and are therefore not composed of primitive building blocks. On this point Rosch's work echoes the more impressionistic writings of Wittgenstein (1953): "'Simple' means: not composite. And here the point is: in what sense 'composite'? It makes no sense at all to speak absolutely of the 'simple parts of a chair.'"

The basic level is an intermediate level on a vertical scale of inclusiveness. The basic level category *chair*, for instance, is included in the superordinate category *furniture*, and itself includes subordinate categories such as *office chair*, *lawn chair*, *highchair* (see Figure 4). Rosch's subjects first recognized objects as members of their basic level category. According to her, identifying objects as members of superordinate or subordinate categories required additional cognitive processing.

Figure 4: Rosch's levels of categorization



Rosch called not for minor adjustments in the classical set theory of categorization, but for an entirely new theory. The model that she formulated did not incorporate any of the basic assumptions of set theory, rather it was founded on experimental results which contradicted these assumptions. Significantly, Rosch claimed that

criterial attributes (which linguists often refer to as "invariants") are not decisive in the definition and identification of categories and their members.

The concepts behind Rosch's "natural categories" were not unique or unprecedented. In addition to Wittgenstein, cited above, Fillmore (1975) lists a number of scholars of various fields who were toying with related ideas in 1952-1973. Rosch's work is significant rather for a) her lucid explanation of the basic concepts involved, b) the research that backs them up and c) the degree of acceptance which her work enjoyed. It is for these reasons that Rosch's work in particular constitutes a prominent milestone in the development of what I will henceforth refer to as the cognitive approach to meaning, and which will be incorporated in the modified structuralist approach according to which Russian verbal prefixes will be analyzed in this dissertation.

3.2 EVIDENCE FROM LINGUISTICS

Since all linguistic categories of natural languages are of necessity cognitive categories, the implications of Rosch's theory of human cognitive categorization for semantics are obvious. Predictably enough, Rosch's work has not gone unnoticed in the linguistic community. Several linguists, whose work is briefly reviewed below, are exploring the applications of Rosch's findings to linguistics in an attempt to build a theory of meaning on her foundation.

3.2.1 Fillmore

Among the first linguists to cite Rosch was Fillmore (1975) in "An Alternative to Checklist Theories of Meaning." He discussed the advantages of a theory of meaning whose central concept is the prototype over one whose central concept is "checklists" of criterial attributes. The ideas expressed in this brief paper were further developed in Fillmore 1978. This article touches on a wide variety of issues concerning the function of meaning in language, but its main focus is on the inadequacy of checklist theories of meaning (i.e., discrete semantic feature theory) in describing natural language. He concludes with a discussion of legalese, which exemplifies what can happen when checklist semantics are forced upon language. Fillmore (1982) explores the actual applications of natural categories to semantics in "Towards a Descriptive Framework for Spatial Deixis."

3.2.2 Kay and McDaniel 1978 and Coleman and Kay 1981

Kay and McDaniel 1978 is a cross-linguistic study of the color categorization systems of ninety-eight languages. In part it reduplicated Rosch's finding that it is easy to select best examples (prototypes), but difficult to delimit exact boundaries between categories. Kay and McDaniel found the discrete semantic feature theory and the set theory model inadequate for the phenomena of color semantics they observed. They did not, however, accept Rosch's model as a whole, but suggested instead that fuzzy set theory (in which there are sets having boundaries, albeit fuzzy ones)

might be a desirable model for semantic categorization. Indeed, for the limited purposes of describing color semantics, fuzzy set theory may well be sufficient, although Lakoff (1982) later argued that it cannot account for more complex semantic systems.

Coleman and Kay (1981) tackled the semantic category of the English word *lie* (conventionally defined by Webster as 'to utter falsehood with an intention to deceive'). First they isolated various properties associated with this word, such as "A tells a falsehood," "A knows that he is telling a falsehood," "A intends to deceive B," and then constructed a series of stories containing all possible combinations of presence and absence of the given properties. The stories were then presented to consultants who rated the narrated events as to how well they fit their conception of the word *lie*. Coleman and Kay discovered that the properties which they had isolated were not necessary and sufficient conditions, but rather attributes of a prototype, which "associates a word with a prelinguistic cognitive schema or image, and speakers are equipped with an ability to judge the degree to which an object matches this prototype schema or image."

3.2.3 Langacker

Langacker (1982) is in the process of laying the foundation of a theory of grammar, called cognitive grammar, applying Rosch's natural categories to linguistics. Langacker rejects theories of grammar based on mathematical models, since he recognizes that there

are fundamental differences between mathematical theories and normal human cognition. It is the assumption that grammar has an existence independent of cognitive functioning which, according to Langacker, prevents generative grammar from achieving a "natural" desciption of language. He likewise eschews linguistic descriptions which "seek simplicity at the expense of factuality," thereby dealing "with the data in a way that does violence to its intrinsic organization." Langacker neatly summarized the paradox inherent in the criterial attribute model (discussed in Chapter 2):

> "The criterial attribute model is faced with a dilemma. Either it ignores these uses (i.e., instantiations such as *giant baseball, orange baseball, exploded baseball* which do not fit a narrow definition of the word *baseball* -- LAJ), thereby giving a distorted and drastically oversimplified account of human categorical behavior, or else it accommodates these judgements by loosening the defining criteria, in which case there is no non-arbitrary stopping point and the loosened criteria will hardly serve anymore to distinguish the members of a class from other entities."

Langacker adopts the prototype as an appropriate model of meaning as well as Rosch's intermediate basic level: "No specific claim is made to the effect that the smallest units of linguistic significance are necessarily primitives." His stated goal is to provide a linguistic description which is psychologically real.

Although Langacker's work is at present in progress, it represents a serious endeavor to realize the full potential of Rosch's concepts in the field of linguistics.

3.2.4 Lakoff

Lakoff has not undertaken as ambitious a project as Langacker, but his writings contain the most elegant analysis to date of Rosch's concepts in linguistic terms. In 1977 he wrote "Linguistic Gestalts." Citing Rosch's work, he described categories as Gestalts, which have, among others, the following properties:

1. they are both holistic and analyzable, but the wholes are equal to more than the parts
2. they have variable analyses
3. they have internal relations among parts, grouped by type.

In a paper entitled "Categories and Cognitive Models." the original version of which appeared in a collection called *Linguistics in the Morning Calm,* Lakoff returned to the exploratory work done in "Gestalts" with a thorough examination of Rosch's natural categories. He identified the properties characteristic of set-theory semantics and gave examples of phenomena for which set-theory categorization is unable to account. In addition, carried Rosch's work one step further by actually defining the prototype, which he calls an "Idealized Cognitive Model" (ICM), and describing its function. ICMs have the following characteristics:

--They are structured wholes.

--The categories used in ICMs are the natural categories described by Rosch, not the classical categories of set theory.

--In addition to propositional content, ICMs nay contain mental images, not just visual images, but kinaesthetic images of all kinds.

--ICMs provide holistic ways of "framing" situations, where a "situation" is taken to be an otherwise fragmentary understanding of either the real world or some imaginary or fictional world.

ICMs are based not on the objective world, but on human experience of it, and are kept distinct from both. Lexical items are both defined relative to ICMs and motivated by their existence, The ICM emerges as a very powerful concept in cognitive semantics. Interestingly, Lakoff points out that although ICMs represent a system of sorts, some of them contradict one other, but this inconsistency is in fact necessary, since different ICMs must capture opposing aspects of a given object or concept. For example, the ICMs of the words *stingy* and *thrifty* both contain an evaluation of the pros and cons of spending money, yet their evaluations are contradictory. Lakoff even suggests that the traditional application of mathematical theories to human cognition may itself stem from an ICM: "Perhaps all of objectivist metaphysics derives from an idealized cognitive model that we use in dealing with physical objects."

In a joint publication with Zoltán Kövecses (1983), Lakoff provides a cognitive model of *anger* in American English to illustrate the application of cognitive semantics.

3.2.5 Brugman, Lindner, and Rudzka-Ostyn

Several individuals have used the skeletal frameworks worked out by the linguists discussed above to delve into the meaty semantics of linguistic units closely parallel to Russian verbal prefixes. The first of these was Brugman (1981) who examined the variety of instantiations of the English verb particle *over*. Subsequently Lindner (1982) presented a dissertation on the particles *up* and *out*. Their results are very similar and of particular relevance to the present dissertation due to the fact that verbal particles fill roughly the same role in English as verbal prefixes do in Russian. It comes as no surprise that traditional semantic descriptions of English verb particles bear a marked resemblance to those of Russian verbal prefixes. Like prefixes, particles are traditionally portrayed as groups of homonyms, containing some percentage of semantically "empty" members. It was the recognition of flaws in the traditional descriptions similar to those discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 which inspired these papers. Brugman and Lindner discovered that the meaning of particles can be felicitously captured by a series of image schema (or, configurations) linked to one another. The image schema diagram deictic spatial relations. Each schema serves a group of instantiations, both concrete spatial ones and their metaphorical extensions. Some schema are more central than others. Both Brugman and Lindner suggest that these schema somehow fit together in a unified system, but neither actually presented such a system. Lakoff later pieced together a partial network for *over* using Brugman's schema.

Rudzka-Ostyn (1983a, 1983b) has written on Dutch and Polish verbal prefixes, after Brugman's and Lindner's examples. In addition to diagramming and comparing the schema networks of prefixes of these two languages, she has analyzed the phenomenon of metaphorical extension in some detail.

The work of these three authors has prepared the ground for the analysis of Russian verbal prefixes which I will present in Chapters 5 through 8.

3.2.6 Summary of impact of cognitive psychology on linguistics

Although it is not possible at this point to say that Rosch's research in cognitive psychology has stimulated a major trend in contemporary linguistics, it is clear that there is a movement afoot, at least among certain linguists, to recognize the validity and relevance of her ideas. Significantly, these concepts are not merely being mechanically transferred from psychology to linguistics, but are evoking substantial creative thinking in the process. Fillmore, Lakoff, and, most demonstrably (because he is undertaking the writing of a new theory of grammar) Langacker have been moved to question the nature of linguistics as a whole in light of these concepts. Although the initial impulse to accept a cognitive approach was felt in semantics, its influence has not been confined to this level. Lakoff (1982) cites applications of prototype theory to syntax and phonology. In 1983, Bybee and Moder published an article entitled "Morphological classes as natural categories" in *Language*. This spilling over of

what was originally recognized as a theory applicable to semantics into other levels of linguistics is remarkable when we consider how ideas have been developed and spread from level to level in the past. The hierarchy of linguistic levels which is traditionally recognized is the logical outcome of a reductionist view of language (see Figure 5). Primitives, such as phonemes and distinctive features, are isolated and examined. Most research has, until recently, been conducted on phonology, which is considered to be closest to surface perception and therefore the basic level of language. Linguists have tried to appiy hypotheses drawn on this level to successively "higher" levels, thus ascribing to each level a structure parallel to that of phonology. Distinctive feature theory is an excellent example of a hypothesis which was originally worked out at the phonological level and subsequently adapted to higher and higher levels. At the semantic level at least, analogies to hypotheses about phonology have met with considerable resistance. Individuals who have doggedly tried to carry out such analogies have produced systems, such as van Schooneveld's four-dimensional "cubes," which, rather than shedding light on semantics (many of his scattered insights do shed some light, but his system as a whole is wrapped in mystery) seem cryptical and contrived. Pre-structuralist semantic descriptions such as that of Boguslawski were primarily concerned with dissecting and cataloging and likewise did not present a satisfying and coherent theory of meaning. In both cases the semantic description appears to be a highly artificial exercise, not motivated by semantics itself. As we

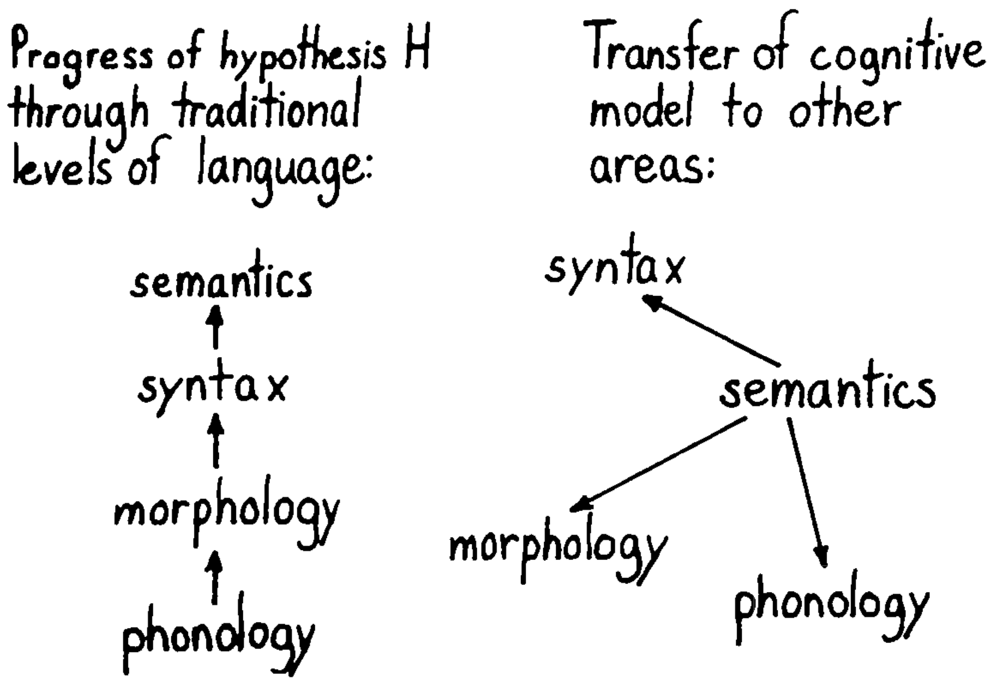
have seen, the seed of dissatisfaction sown by such descriptions[11] has in some cases grown into the acceptance of an entirely different model of structure. The spread of this cognitive model is unprecedented in both its point of origin within linguistics and in its direction of spread. First, its appearance on linguistic soil was made in semantics rather than phonology. Second, the cognitive model has not spread sequentially through the levels of linguistics, but rather to all of them in no particular order. Relative to distinctive feature theory, which was carefully worked out at one level before it was applied to the next, the cognitive model has produced a small explosion in linguistics, in which the concepts behind natural categorization have found direct avenues to every level of language. In fact, at this point it is probably no longer accurate to speak of "levels"; perhaps "areas" would be more accurate. The very way in which these concepts have spread demonstrates that the notion of linguistic levels may not be valid, or at least that it is not the only valid structure which we can ascribe to language. Note that the differences between the two structures in Figure 5 correspond to differences between reductionist and cognitive logic: there is nothing in the cognitive model to suggest that any of these areas of language is more "primitive" than any other. It does appear, however, that semantics is central; this is consistent with Langacker's (1982)

[11] Cf. Langacker 1982: "The primary need of linguistics today, as I see it, is a conceptual framework which makes language appear straightforward rather than mysterious, and which permits the unified description of the many facets of language structure that present theories insist on forcing into separate boxes."

observation that "meaning is what language is all about."

Figure 5: Levels of Language vs.

Centrality of Semantics



The very fact that the cognitive model thus tampers with our conception of the gross structure of language predicts that it will encounter widespread resistance among linguists. It can hope to gain general acceptance only through the patience and perseverance of its supporters.

The contents of this subsection are impressionistic and speculative. This does not mean, however, that they are inappropriate in any way. At this point in time it appears that we are witnessing the formative growth of an idea whose significance may well be enhanced with time. Speculation and extrapolation are therefore the only means

available for giving an overall picture of the impact of natural categories on linguistics.

3.3 SUMMARY

The first three chapters of this dissertation have examined the history of approaches to the semantics of Russian verbal prefixes and explored a possible alternative framework. It might have been easier to merely outline the underlying assumptions of the cognitive model of semantics and proceed directly with an analysis of the given prefixes according to that model. However, given the strictly classical history of semantic descriptions of Russian verbal prefixes together with the fact that the cognitive approach is not at this point generally accepted in linguistics and virtually unknown in Slavic linguistics,[12] I considered it necessary to fully explain the disadvantages of classical semantics as well as the history of a new approach which may remedy them. In so doing I have expanded the aims of this dissertation. My original goal was to achieve a semantically sound description of verbal prefixes. In the process I have of necessity undertaken a second goal: to contribute an argument in defense of linguistic analysis incorporating cognitive semantics. The natural symbiosis of these goals should reinforce both arguments. There are risks in using this model, not only because it represents largely unexplored territory, but also because it ultimately demands a restructuring of linguistics,

[12] To my knowledge, Rudzka-Ostyn is the only individual who has published work on a Slavic language (Polish) developed according to the cognitive model.

as mentioned in the preceding section. The benefits, however, as outlined below and illustrated in the following chapters, make these risks worth taking.

3.3.1 An outline of the modified structuralist approach

Although the classical and cognitive approaches have been discussed in various places above, it would be useful at this point to outline and compare their characteristics. The information given here is intentionally oversimplified in order to provide the reader with a schematic guideline for the detailed description which follows. Table 5[13] contrasts the basic assumptions of the two approaches.

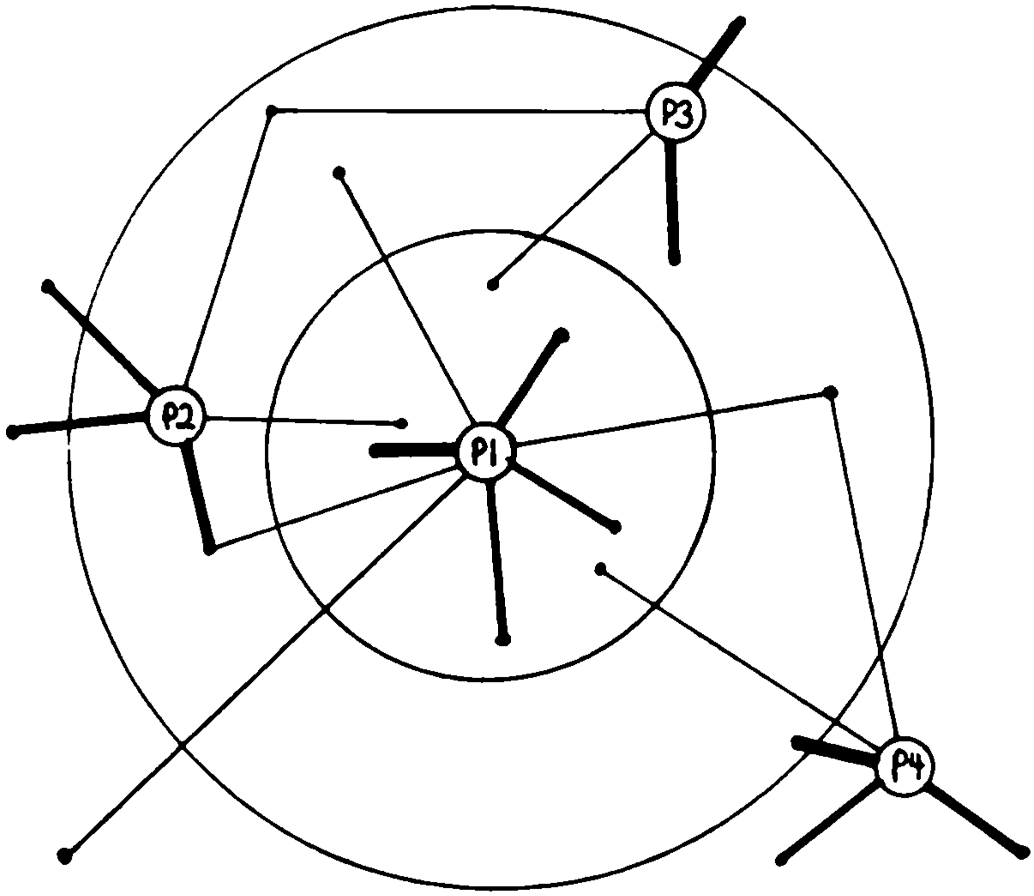
Table 5

	CLASSICAL SEMANTICS	COGNITIVE SEMANTICS
Meaning is defined by:	invariant properties	an ICM/prototype
Membership is recognized by:	presence of invariant	"family-style" relationship to prototype
Membership is:	absolute	scalar
Members:	are all equal	have varying status

[13] I am indebted to Lakoff (1982) for many of these neat, concise characterizations.

Two differences are striking: the absence, in the cognitive approach, of boundaries (concomitant with the presence of membership gradience) and the absence of an invariant. Chapter 2 isolated the insistence on definition by invariants as a major stumbling block to semantic description. The impossibility of arriving at a satisfactory definition of the meaning of a lexical item by means of invariants was demonstrated with the example *chair*. Each suggested definition was found to be simultaneously both too narrow and too broad. In the framework of classical set theory categorization, this phenomenon appears highly paradoxical, but given the cognitive model, the situation is not a bit perplexing. It is in fact a logical consequence of the imposition of set theory on natural categories. Figure 6 is a diagram of a hypothetical group of categories. The prototype is identified with "P" and its members are joined to it by lines of varying thickness, indicating the directness of their relationship to the prototype, as well as their membership status. In this diagram space is metaphorically identified with the possession of various properties. The categories both interlock and overlap. In some cases a member of one category may be located near the prototype of another, but is not recognized as a member of that other category. To quote an oft-cited example, the Pope certainly fulfills the definition of *bachelor*, but it is doubtful whether anyone would consider him a member of that category. *Toy chair* is an example of overlap, since it is a member of both *toy* and *chair*.

Figure 6: Imposing set theory on natural categories



A pair of circles has been superimposed on this diagram, representing set theory attempts to capture the category whose prototype is P1 (by enclosing the space which represents invariant properties). Each circle excludes some of the members of the category and at the same time includes non-members. It is impossible to draw a circle that will encompass all and only the members of a given category.

The cognitive approach removes the need to identify invariant properties. Rather it requires that the linguist discover the

prototype relevant to a given category and the relations which link the members to that prototype. In deposing invariance from its central role, the cognitive approach also does away with the problems posed by classical semantics (listed in 2.3.4). The following chapters will give an example of how the implementation of cognitive semantics can produce a description preferable to those based on set theory. As mentioned above, this approach will be termed modified structuralist since a) it continues the structuralists' efforts to correct traditional descriptions and b) like the structuralist model, modified structuralism depends on a limited set of constraints, although they are internal rather than external in the present system. A further discussion of why the term modified structuralism has been coined and how modified and standard structuralist approaches differ is contained in the section entitled "On linkage" (9.2).

Chapter IV

A MODIFIED STRUCTURALIST ANALYSIS OF RUSSIAN VERBAL PREFIXES

Chapters 4 through 8 will describe the networks that form the categories of *za-*, *pere-*, *do-*, and *ot-*. The description is intended to be thorough, but by no means exhaustive. With few exceptions, it should be possible to identify every instantiation of a given prefix with one of its configurations.

4.1 PRELIMINARIES

Before beginning the analysis of the prefixes, I will briefly outline the basic concepts and structures involved. This organization of configurations and networks is largely consistent with that worked out by Lindner (1982), Lakoff (1982), and Rudzka-Ostyn (1983a, 1983b).

4.2 "COGNITIVE" SPACE

The meanings of prefixes will be captioned by configurations drawn in space. This is not necessarily three-dimensional space as it is understood by post-Einsteinian physicists, but rather our mental perception of it. In order to maintain this distinction,[14] I will refer

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[14] Although this distinction may seem obvious and trivial, I stress it because the confusion of "real" space with "cognitive" space can lead to inferences grossly out of proportion with natural human language, cf. Brøndal (1950), who attempted to base a theory of

to this space as "cognitive" space. Cognitive space may have one, two or three dimensions. One- and two-dimensional space is conceptually easier to handle and higher dimensions can be derived from them; witness the derivation of three dimensions from two-dimensional art forms such as drawing, painiting and film. In addition, cognitive space may, through metaphorical extension, refer to some entirely different domain such as time, existence, emotion. In *The Psychology of Time*, Fraise states that "this transcription (from space to time) is natural, because temporal order often coincides with spatial order and distances correspond to durations of movement." Metaphoric identification of time in terms of space is pervasive in collocations like *on Monday*, *in the months ahead*, and vivid in expressions like *Christmas seemed far away*. Metaphoric extensions into other domains, specifically perception, existence, and social interaction have been examined by Rudzka-Ostyn (1983b).

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the spatial relations indexed by prepositions on the unified field theory of space-time, quoting Minkowsky and Einstein. If these two conceptions of space were to be confused, it would be very difficult to understand how the configurations below match the given examples.

4.3 THE STRUCTURE OF THE CONFIGURATION

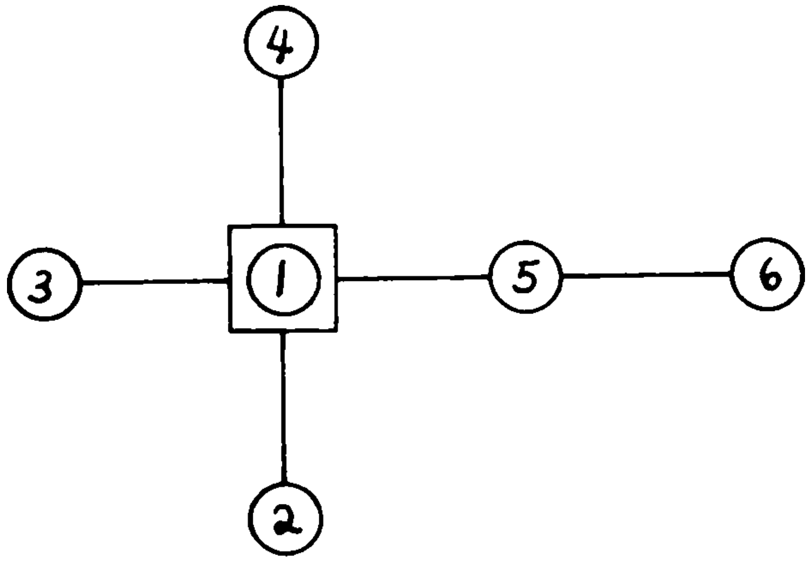
Prototypically a configuration consists of a *landmark* (LM, sometimes called a domain) and a *trajector* (TR) which moves in relation to it. The *trajectory* is a profile of this movement, usually with respect to time. In designating a landmark or domain, its complement, an *extradomain* is often established as well. The landmark and trajector may take a range of different shapes and relative sizes. The landmark may be a one-dimensional line, representing a cognitive space or a scale (ordered from left to right in diagrams), or may be a two-dimensional closed figure. The trajector is usually a one-dimensional point, but may also be a closed figure or may be identified with the landmark (in which case instead of moving with respect to an independent landmark, it moves with respect to itself). The landmark and/or trajector may be multiple or may represent a group of objects. The landmark and trajector can also be one and the same thing. The movement of the trajector can be growth or spreading rather than relocation. The variations or transformations available to the elements of a configuration are strictly limited, all chosen from a set of three basic transformations on the dimension, quantification, and identity of these elements. For a discussion of this closed set of transformations, see the section entitled "On linkage" which follows the analysis of the prefixes. Landmarks and trajectors have the same chameleon-like qualities that cognitive space does: they can refer to many things other than physical objects. The landmark, for example, can be an abstraction (such as memory)

or a state (health, freedom), and the trajector can be an activity. In the analysis of the prefixes below all of these types of configurations will be represented.

4.4 THE STRUCTURE OF THE NETWORK

Each prefix has several configurations, each of which may in turn signal one or several submeanings. If a configuration is associated with more than one submeaning, usually one submeaning is spatial and the rest are metaphorical extensions of that submeaning, created by varying the referents of the landmark and the trajector. Some base verbs may be associated with more than one configuration and are therefore said to be multiply motivated. Of the configurations associated with a given prefix, one is central or prototypical. It serves as an ICM for the entire category of the prefix. All of the other configurations are connected or related to this central configuration by means of a series of links. These links represent the minor transformations by which the configurations differ from one another. Examples of minor transformations include: difference in dimensionality of landmark and/or trajector; identity of trajector with the landmark or some part of it. (Again, a fuller discussion of the links involved is to be found at the close of the analysis of the prefixes.) The resulting structure of configurations gathered about their prototypical representative is called a *network* (see Figure 7). A square identifies the prototypical member.

Figure 7: Idealized Network



This network of configurations easily accommodates the two properties of prefixal semantics, unity and diversity, which were irrevocably diametrically opposed in traditional and structuralist descriptions (cf. chapter 2). The network achieves a unified view of the prefix in that all of the configurations (and via them, submeanings) bear a relationship to the prototype. They are held together as a group by the links. At the same time, the submeanings remain distinct and the internal semantic structure of the prefix is not obscured. The network structure can handle a category of superficial diversity without sacrificing variety to unity or vice versa.

4.5 ROLE OF PREFIXAL SEMANTICS IN THE MEANING OF A VERB

The meaning of the prefix is not just added to that of the base verb, but rather, as Flier (1975) has suggested, it interacts with the meaning of the base verb. Of the two, the meaning of the prefix is often the dominating member in this semantic relationship. There are cases in which the meaning of the verb is so nearly subjugated to that of the prefix that it is no longer perceptible (recall the verbs cited in 2.1.3). Even the so-called empty and fused prefixes, although they do not always dominate the semantics of the prefixed verb, are indeed very consistent and regular examples of given submeanings of prefixes, as the examples below will show. The prefix acts as a semantic organizer in a verb: it sets the stage and gives a general plot to the verbal activity. The semantics of the verbs identify the actors and fill in details of the setting. Extending this metaphor of a theatrical play, the configuration depicts the contribution of the prefix: the landmark set in cognitive space is the stage, the trajector is the main character, and the trajectory is the plot. Each verb which can combine with the prefix will designate the referents of the landmark and of cognitive space and assign the role of trajector to an appropriate person, object, or whatever. Thus the play outlined by a prefix can be endlessly rehearsed, its variation limited only by the available base verbs.

The assignment of the roles of landmark and trajector follows the strict patterns given in Table 6 below.

Table 6: Mapping of Predicate Arguments onto

Configurational Elements

Pattern A:

intrans subj
-or- = TR
DO

PP or indirect = LM
specification

Pattern B:

trans subj = TR

DO = LM

According to pattern A, which is the dominant pattern, either the subject of an intransitive verb or the direct object of a transitive verb serves as the trajector and the landmark is either the object of a prepositional phrase or is indirectly specified, by incorporation in the verb, information in another clause, or extralinguistic knowledge. (160) and (154) from the analysis of *ot-*, excerpts of which appear below, can be used to illustrate this pattern. Both are examples of the <away> submeaning in which one object (the trajector) is removed from another (the landmark).

From (160): Russkaja literatura *otxodila* (*ot*-'walk') ot privyčnogo realizma.

Russian literature *departed* from customary realism.

From (154): Vy ne zabudete *otodvinut'*(*ot*-'move') ee stul (ot stola).

Don't forget *to pull out* her chair (from the table).

In (160), *Russian literature*, the subject of the intransitive verb *depart*, is the trajector which has left the landmark named in the prepositional phrase, *customary realism*. Similarly, the trajector in (154) is the direct object *her chair*, whereas the landmark is *the table*.

Only transitive verbs participate in pattern B, their subjects acting as trajectors and their direct objects as landmarks, as exemplified in (65).

From (65): Oblaka *zavolakivali* (*za*-'drag') nebo.

Clouds *covered* the sky.

The verb *zavolakivat'* *za*-'drag' 'cover', belongs to the <cover> submeaning of *za-*, in which the trajector, here the subject *clouds*, covers the landmark, the object *sky*.

In cases where the verb appears in a passive form (past passive participles, impersonal expressions and uses of the reflexive *-sja*

where the logical subject is deleted) it is necessary to render the sentence in the active voice in order to recover the predicate argument relationships that map onto the elements of the configuration. Thus, for example, in order to identify the trajector and landmark in (18) *izvlekat' ostatki pišči, zastrjavšie* (*za*-'stick') *v zubax* 'pick out bits of food that have gotten stuck between the teeth' and (66) *mogilu zasypalo* (*za*-'pour') *snegom* 'the grave was covered with snow', these utterances must be rephrased as *ostatki pišči zastrjali* (*za*-'stick') *v zuby* 'bits of food got caught between the teeth' and *sneg zasypal* (*za*-'pour') *mogilu* 'snow covered the grave', respectively.

The distribution of the two patterns among the submeanings of the prefixes *za-*, *pere-*, *do-*, and *ot-* (themselves described in detail in the analysis that follows) is outlined in Table 7.

Table 7: Distribution of Mapping Patterns

Pattern A

	submeaning	variations on pattern
za-:		
	deflection	EX specified, LM its complement
	fix	EX specified, LM its complement
	change of state	EX specified, LM its complement
	excess	EX specified, LM its complement
	inchoative	EX specified, LM its complement
pere-:		
	transfer	

thorough

duration

excess

bridge

bend

interchange

turn over

mix

do-:

reach	E specified by PP
excess	E specified by PP
add	

ot-:

away

retribution

closure

sever

excess

Pattern B

za-:

exchange	EX specified, LM its complement
cover	
splatter	
fill	

pere-:

transfer

duration

thorough

superiority

redo

division

over

seriatim

do-:

reach — E specified by PP

ot-:

closure

Given the minor variations, due on the one hand to the importance of the extradomain (EX) in certain submeanings of *za-*, where it is specified and thereby the landmark is defined as its complement, and on the other hand to the salience of point E on the landmark in some submeanings of *do-*, all submeanings use these two patterns. Thus, the subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs are never identified with the landmark, being restricted to the function of the trajector, but the direct object of a transitive verb may be either the trajector or the landmark, depending on the pattern.

As is evident from the table, most submeanings (twenty-six out of a total of thirty-one) use only one of the two patterns. Of the five submeanings that use both patterns, *pere-* <duration>, *pere-*

<thorough>, and *do-* <reach> use only intransitive verbs in pattern A. For *ot-* <closure> the use of transitive verbs in pattern A is rare, and for *pere-* <transfer>, the use of pattern B is rare. Therefore there is almost never any question as to what role should be assigned to the direct object of a transitive verb and the two patterns are in a relationship of virtual complementary distribution.

The existence of these two patterns suggests the division of transitive verbs in two sets: those whose direct objects have a configurational function equivalent to that of subjects of intransitive verbs and those whose subjects serve this function. These sets of verbs will be henceforth referred to as "para-ergative" and "non-ergative," respectively. Below is a sample list of these verbs, compiled from the examples in the analysis.

Table 8: Para-ergative and Non-ergative Verbs

Para-ergatives

(DO = TR, simplex transitive)

zapustit' za-'let' 'let loose'

zabirat' za-'take' 'take away'

zavalit' za-'topple' 'turn over'

založit' za-'lay' 'tuck behind'

zaprjatat' za-'hide' 'hide away'

zapomnit' za-'remember' 'commit to memory'

zasolit' za-'salt' 'pickle'

zakrepit' za-'fortify' 'fortify'

peredavat' pere-'give' 'convey'

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peregruzit' *pere*-'load' 'overburden'

perekinut' *pere*-'throw' 'toss over'

dobavljat' *do*-'add' 'add'

dodumat' *do*-'think' 'add by thinking'

Non-ergatives

(subj = TR, simplex transitive or intransitive)

*indicates transitivization

**zarabatyvat'* *za*-'work' 'earn'

**zaslužit'* *za*-'serve' 'deserve'

**zavoevat'* *za*-'war' 'win'

zavolakivat' *za*-'drag' 'cover'

zaglušat' *za*-'deafen' 'drown out'

zagorodit' *za*-'fence' 'block'

**perežit'* *pere*-'live' 'outlive'

perepit' *pere*-'drink' 'outdrink'

perešit' *pere*-'sew' 'resew'

**pererabotat'* *pere*-'work' 'rework'

perebivat' *pere*-'beat' 'interrupt'

**pereskočit'* *pere*-'leap' 'jump over'

**perešagnut'* *pere*-'step' 'step over'

perebit' *pere*-'beat' 'kill off'

doslušat' *do*-'listen' 'hear out'

otpet' *ot*-'sing' 'sing to end'

The subjects of para-ergative verbs do not actually participate in the event captioned by the configuration, but rather serve to set the direct object into motion. The subjects of non-ergative verbs, on the contrary, are more actively involved in the verbal action, allowing them to serve as trajectors. It is characteristic that verbs which are intransitive as simplexes but become transitivized when prefixed (a fairly common phenomenon, which has its parallels in English as well, cf. *laugh* (intrans), *laugh out* (trans), but which is unfortunately beyond the scope of this dissertation) follow the B pattern, probably due to the close relationship between the newly-transitivized subject and the verbal action.

This description, and the descriptions of networks and configurations in this introductory section, give only general outlines, intended to serve as guidelines for the following discussion of the verbal prefixes *za-*, *pere-*, *do-*, and *ot-*.

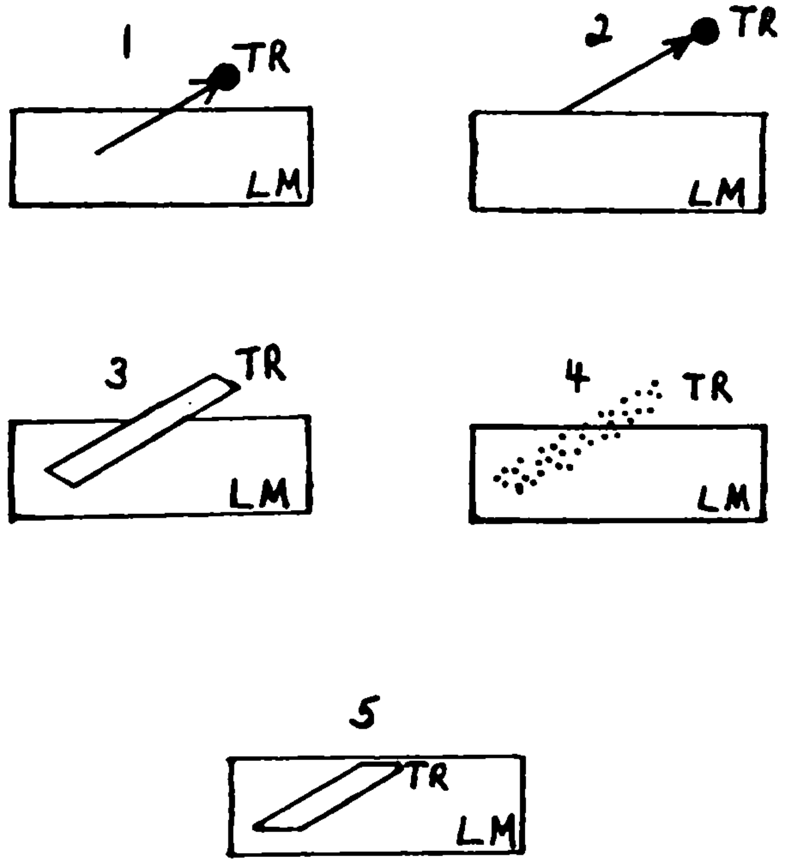
In each case, the structure of the network will be discussed first and then the configurations and the submeanings associated with them will be treated one after another. The examples given are for the most part taken from literature and other materials printed in Russian within the past twenty years, with the exception of a few examples quoted in the Academy Dictionary, which are referenced as such. Each time a submeaning is introduced, there will be a summary of the pattern of mapping predicate arguments onto configurational elements and a partial list of possible referents of these elements.

Chapter V

ZA-

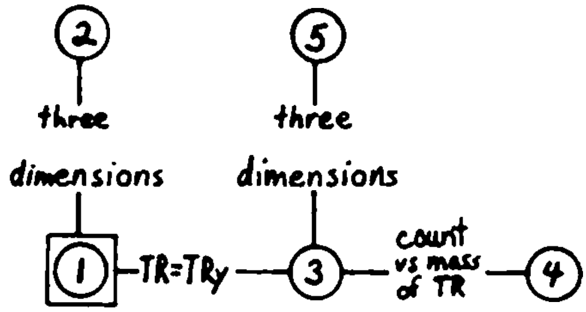
5.1 AN OVERVIEW OF THE NETWORK AND CONFIGURATIONS OF ZA-

FIGURE 8: The Configurations of ZA-



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Figure 9: The Network of ZA-



The *za-* network consists of a family of five configurations of which number 1 is the head to which the remaining four all draw their roots. In configuration 1, which is associated with the submeanings <deflection>, <fix>, <change of state>, <excess>, and <inchoative>), the landmark is a closed figure which designates the normal or canonical environment from which the trajector deviates. In other words, the domain represents a band of "normalcy" or a baseline, and the configuration is a profile over time of the trajector's departure from the domain, via transgression of a lateral boundary. The boundaries of the landmark divide cognitive space into two areas: the area included by the landmark, called the domain, and the area outside the landmark, called the extradomain.

Both configurations 2 and 3 are directly related to the semantically central configuration 1. 2, which is associated with the minor

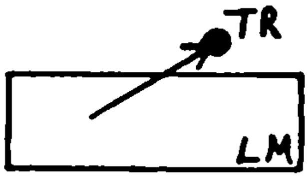
submeaning <surface>, is a three-dimensional version of configuration 1. Given this added dimension, the trajector does not have to transgress a boundary of the landmark in order to remove itself from it, but can escape directly into the extradomain. The role of the extradomain is much less important in the remaining configurations (3, 4, and 5) which focus on the domain. If the trajector and trajectory of configuration 1 are identified with each other, the result is configuration 3, which captions the submeaning <cover>. Here the trajector/trajectory (henceforth referred to merely as trajector for convenience) is a two-dimensional figure which covers the landmark. Configurations 4 and 5 are in turn derived from configuration 3. The difference between configurations 3 and 4 lies in the nature of the trajector: in 3 it is a solid mass, whereas in 4 (associated with <splatter>) it is a group of objects, producing a distribution of spots rather than a thorough covering of the landmark. As opposed to the two-dimensional surface in configuration 3, the landmark of configuration 5 (associated with <fill>) is a three-dimensional container which is filled by the trajector.

The network illustrates the tight unity of *za*-'s submeanings: each configuration is only one or two links removed from the prototype. At the same time, both the diversity of the members of this semantic category and the system which holds them together are explicit.

5.2 CONFIGURATION 1

Deflection, Fix, Change of State, Excess,

Inchoative, Exchange



The trajector begins in the domain and then transgresses a boundary of the landmark, passing into the extradomain. Since the trajector of *za-* leaves its normal environment, a certain amount of effort is required to overcome its inertia. This notion of conscious effort applied to produce a deviant trajectory is apparent in many instantiations, where volition plays an important role (cf. esp. <excess>, <fix>, <exchange>). The extradomain is in most cases qualitatively different from the domain, it does not allow the freedom of movement possible in the domain and the trajector becomes lodged in it. In some cases (cf. <inchoative>, most <deflection> and some <change of state>) the trajector does have the option of returning to the domain, but for many submeanings (<excess>, <fix>, most <change of state>, some <deflection>) the trajectory traced by *za-* represents an action which is irreversible or difficult to reverse.

Deflection

PATTERN A POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

intrans subj -or- DO	= TR	beings, objects
kuda PP -or- inc. in verb	= EX	locations, non-canonical positions and states

(LM is complement of EX)

The most familiar examples of this submeaning are formed with verbs of motion and mean 'drop by'.

3) *Zajdja* (*za*-'walk') v konfektnyj magazin na Kuzneckom mostu, -- pisal poèt Batjuškov, -- ja uvidel bol'šuju tolpu moskovskix frantov v lakirovannyx sapogax, i v širokix anglijskix frakax.

"When I *stopped by* in the candy store on Kuzneckij Bridge," wrote the poet Batjuškov, "I saw a great crowd of Muscovite dandies in polished boots and loose-fitting English tailcoats."

The notion of irreversibility is not crucial to all instances of this submeaning, although it is by no means ruled out, as in the case of an unwanted guest:

4) On Častenko naveščaet vas, *zaxaživaet* (*za*-'walk') na časok i zasiživaetsja na pjat'.

He often visits you, *stopping by* for just an hour, but sitting there for five.

The deflection is not always chosen by the trajector. It may be accidental, such as in *zabludit'sja za*-'wander'-reflex 'lose one's way' or

5) *Zapustit'* (*za*-'let') korov v lug.

To *let* the cows *loose* in the meadow.

or it may be foisted upon the trajector:

6) Togda devušek v brjukax ne puskali v kino ili daže *zabirali* (*za*-'take') v miliciju.

At that time young women wearing pants were not allowed into movie theatres or were even *taken away* to the police station.

The landmark may indicate a canonical position rather than a path of motion.

7) Vzryvnoj volnoj udarilo v niz fjuzeljaža, samolet kljunul nosom i čut' *zavalilsja* (*za*-'topple'-reflex) na pravoe krylo.

When a shock wave hit the underside of the fuselage the plane went into a nosedive and almost *rolled over* onto its right wing.

8) Za smetanoj ne stojte. Končaetsja! -- steganula Valja i Anna Stepanovna uslyšala, kak čerpak stai gluxo stukat'sja o donyško žbana, kotoryj Valja uže *zavalila* (*za*-'topple') na bok.

"Don't wait in line for sour cream. We're out!" belted out Valja, and Anna Stepanovna heard the hollow knocking of the scoop against the bottom of the tub, which Valja had already *turned over* on its side.

In many cases the departure from canonical position involves inserting or anchoring the trajectory in the extradomain. Here there is noticeable overlap with the submeaning <fix> (see below).

9) My molčim i ždem. *Založiv* (*za*-'lay') ruki za spinu, vsmatrivajas' v temnotu, kak i drugie, ždet komandir divizii Popov.

We wait in silence. *Having put* his hands behind his back and staring into the darkness like the others, division commander Popov waits.

10) Nekrasivo klast' ruki na koleni, *zakladyvat'* (*za*-'lay') nogi za nožki stula. 'Salfetku prinjato teper' klast' na koleni, a ne *zasovyvat'* (*za*-'shove') končik ee za vorotnik, kak èto delalos' ran'še.

It is unbecoming to put your hands on your knees and *to put* your feet behind the chairlegs. At the present time it is customary to put your napkin on your lap rather than *to stick* one end of it into your collar, as was done formerly.

11) Odnaždy mne popalas' fraza: "On xrabr, no v duše." No esli xrabrost' *zaprjatana* (*za*-'hide') tak daleko, to kakaja raznica, suščestvujet ona voobšče ili net?

Once I came upon the phrase: "He is brave, but he is brave in soul." If bravery is *hidden* so far *away*, then what difference does it make whether it exists at all or not?

In the last example cognitive space is removed from reference to real space: it is instead a measure of the relative salience of characteristics in a person. The landmark is the surface, where characteristics are readily perceivable and the trajector penetrates the person's interior, where characteristics are hidden from others.[15]

This submeaning can also refer metaphorically to one's vision, the direction of which can be deflected to one side:

12) *Zagljanuv* (*za*-'glance') v komnatu, gde dolžno bylo proxodit' zasedanie, pisateli s udivleniem uvideli tam Furmanova i sekretarja, kotoryj vel protokol.

Peeking into the room, the writers were surprised to see there Furmanov and the secretary, who was handling the agenda.

[15] The notion that a person can be a container for things like characteristics, ideas, emotions, and actions, which can in turn be entities is discussed in Lakoff and Johnson 1980. These metaphors are particularly important for the "inchoative" submeaning of *za*- below.

Metaphorically, the trajector may get side-tracked in an activity such as reading, or thinking.

13) *Zadumyvalis'* (*za*-'think'-reflex) li vy kogda-nibud', počemu duraka sčitajut durakom?

Have your ever *stopped to think* why a fool is considered a fool?

14) My ne mogli ne *zadumyvat'sja* (*za*-'think'-reflex) nad tem, počemu vrag tak bystro prodvigaetsja vpered.

We couldn't keep our *thoughts* from *straying*, wondering why the enemy was moving forward so quickly...

There are some interesting examples which appear to have originated in this submeaning, but have become largely idiomatic.

15) Ne vyslušivat' govorjaščego -- ètot priem xorošo izvesten i v parlamentskoj praktike. Kogda ataka oppozicii dostigala maksimal'nogo ṅakala i očerednoj orator *zaxlebyvalsja* (*za*-'gulp'-reflex) na tribune v jarostnyx obvinenijax, razdavalos' vdrug tixoe posapyvanie i prisvist. Lord Nort bezmjatežno spal.

Not hearing the other person out is a well-known tactic in parliamentary procedure. When the opposition's attack was in full swing and the speaker who had the floor *got carried away* at the tribune in making furious accusations, suddenly a quiet snoring and whistling was heard. Lord North was sleeping peacefully.

In its concrete sense *zaxlebyvat'sja* (*za*-'gulp'-reflex) means 'choke'. Since the base verb *xlebat'* means 'gulp down (liquids)', the concrete meaning 'choke' is motivated in the <deflection> submeaning, cf. Eng. *swallow the wrong way*. Presumably the connection between 'choking' and 'being very excited, getting carried away' is made by the fact that people do choke when they are overexcited. It is interesting that the meaning of this verb is supported by the <deflection> submeaning not only on the concrete level ('swallow *the wrong way*'), but on the metaphoric, idiomatic level as well ('get carried *away*').

The roots of the following example are harder to retrieve, since the folk etymology on which it is based is not alive for all speakers. For such speakers the prefix is fused to the root and the verb is an unanalyzable idiom.

> 16) I esli na odnom stule umeščalis' dvoe, a koe u kogo *zatekali* (*za*-'flow') ot neudobnogo položenija nogi, vse ravno nikto ne žalovalsja.
>
> And if two had to sit on one chair and somebody's legs *fell asleep* because they were in an uncomfortable position, nobody would complain.

The base verb *teč'* means 'flow'. According to some native consultants, this verb might have originally referred to blood. Folk theory held that if a person was in an uncomfortable position, their circulation was deflected and blood would keep flowing into the given body part, rather than continuing on its path, thus causing that part of the body to become numb.

One of the most frequently cited examples of a prefix fused to its base is the verb *zabyt'* (*za*-'be') 'forget'. Although perhaps no speaker ever thinks to analyze this word componentially, the contribution of *za-* can still be recognized. It is similar to that in the verb *zaprjatat'* (*za*-'hide') 'hide away', above. The landmark is the domain of things visible, and perceivable, *in one's mind*. When an item passes out of this domain it is forgotten, cf. Eng. *Out of sight, out of mind*.

Fix

PATTERN A		POSSIBLE REFERENTS:
intrans subj		
-or-	= TR	objects, parts of bodies or
DO		objects, information
kuda PP		
-or-	= EX	locations, memory, paper
inc. in verb		(documents, files)

(LM is complement of EX)

The difference between <deflection> and <fix> is that, due to the nature of the extradomain, the trajector always becomes lodged in it. Going back to the configuration, we might think of the landmark as a good solid road, on the shoulder of which is deep, sticky mud. Any deviation from the road will cause the trajector to get stuck.

17) Pri ruležke šassi samoleta *zaryvalis'* (*za*-'dig'-reflex) v grunt nastol'ko, čto mašiny prixodilos' vytaskivat' na sobstvennyx plečax.

During taxiing the landing gear *would dig its way* into the earth so deeply that we had to drag the planes out again on our shoulders.

18) Ne razrešaetsja brat' nož v rot: možno porezat' jazyk i guby. Na ètom razumnom soobraženii osnovano pravilo ne est' s noža, tak že kak i kategoričeskoe zapreščenie izvlekat' ostatki pišči, *zastrjavšie* (*za*-'stick') v zubax, vilkoj ili čem-libo inym, krome zubočistki.

You mustn't put your knife in your mouth because you might cut your tongue and lips. This is why eating with your knife and picking out bits of food that *have gotten stuck* between your teeth with your fork or anything else except a toothpick is categorically forbidden.

The base verb in this example **-strjat'* no longer has an independent existence, but due to the presence of other prefixed forms *vstrjat'* *v*-'stick' 'get mixed up in', *nastrjat'* *na*-'stick' 'get stuck' *pristrjat'* *pri*-'stick' 'join', it may still be analyzable. At any rate the verb *zastrjat'* *za*-'stick' 'get stuck' is a regular instance of *za*- in its <fix> submeaning. Similarly, although the base verb of *zamknut'* *za*-'join' 'lock' can exist only with *za*- and a limited number of other prefixes

(*vy-*, *ot-*, *raz-*, *po-*, *pri-*, *pere-*) and no longer has an independent semantic function, it too is clearly an instance of <fix>. The bolt (trajector) is drawn into place (extradomain) and will remain there until a key is turned to draw it back.

19) Žena načalnika, šedšaja sledom, nabljudala tem, čtoby nožki ne *zacepilis'* (*za*-'clutch'-reflex) za dvernye kosjaki.

The boss' wife followed, watching that his little legs didn't *get caught* on the doorjamb.

20) Belki dlitel'noe vremja *zaderživajut'sja* (*za*-'hold'-reflex) v želudke i trebujut značitel'nogo količestva piščevaritel'nyx sokov.

Proteins *remain* in the intestine a long time and require a significant quantity of digestive juices.

One curious verb is formed from the simplex *est'* 'eat' and means 'jam (of machines)'. Although I have not succeeded in resurrecting a folk etymology which justifies the use of this base verb, the contribution of *za-* is clear. A machine part (trajector) has deviated from its proper movement (landmark) and has gotten stuck (in the extradomain).

21) Perec zametil, čto mašina stoit ne tak rovno, kak ran'še, i vygljanul iz kabiny. Menedžer vozilsja vozle zadnego kolesa. -- Da vy sidite, sidite, ne vylezajte! Vy nam ne mešaete. *Zaela* (*za*-'eat'), drjan' prokljataja...

Perec noticed that the truck wasn't standing as level as before and peeked out of the cabin. The manager was tinkering with the back wheel. "Just sit still, don't get out! You aren't in the way. It's *jammed*, the cursed junkpile..."

One might speculate that some comparison of the gears of a machine with the teeth of someone who is eating has motivated the prefixed verb, but this is unclear.

Even a seemingly perplexing verb, such as *začitat'* (*za*-'read') 'borrow and fail to return (a book)' turns out to be a regular instance of <fix>, once the referents of the domain and extradomain are correctly identified. The domain is the normal circulation of a book which becomes fixed in the possession of one of its readers (other than its owner) -- the extradomain.

Although the results of the *za*- <fix> verbs cited above were undesirable, verbs in this submeaning can have a positive connotation if the item is being intentionally stored in the extradomain. In this case the path is the normal ambient movement of items, unhindered by intervention. The *za*- prefixed verb indicates an action that will fasten the trajector to a point in the extradomain, as in *zakleit'* *za*-'glue' 'glue up', *zašpilit'* *za*-'pin', *zakolot'* *za*-'pin' 'pin up'.

22) I men'še vsego nužno starat'sja *zapastis'* (*za*-'graze'-reflex) na vse slučai žizni gotovymi otvetami.

And it is not at all necessary to try *to store up* ready answers for all of life's situations.

Metaphorically one can also store words (trajectory) in one's memory (extradomain).

23) Dobroe slovo, skazannoe nam, *zapadaet* (*za*-'fall') v pamjat', mnogie gody nosim my ego v svoem serdce.

Kind words said to us *sink down* into our memory and stay for a long time, we carry them in our heart for many years.

It is as if we were standing at one point, watching words, ideas, information, etc. float by on the path. When we see an item that we would like to keep, we must pull it out and park it in the extradomain, so that it will not get away. This situation is comparable to that of a student in a lecture who is being bombarded with factual information. If he does not make an effort to grab hold of this information and fix it on his notepaper (or if he is cleverer, in his memory), it will follow its own course, going in one ear and out the other. Left to its own devices, most information has a way of getting lost. *Zametit'* *za*-'mark' 'notice' and *zapomnit'* *za*-'remember' 'commit to memory' are metaphorical versions of this submeaning -- some bit of information is caught by a person's perception and fixed in his mind.

24) V tečenie žizni my stalkivaemsja so mnogimi ljud'mi. Počemu že tol'ko v redkix slučajax my utruždaem sebja pointeresovat'sja, kak zovut čeloveka, i *zapomnit'* (*za*-'remember') ego imja?

During our lives we meet many people. Why is it that only in rare cases do we endeavor to take an interest in a person's name and *to commit* it *to memory*?

25) Spravočku *zaregistrirovali* (*za*-'register') i podšili kuda sleduet, zabyv vskore pro staruška i pro ee syna, uvjaznuv v tekuščix delax, kotoryx v milicii i bez togo bylo mnogo.

They *registered* and filed the certificate accordingly, and soon forgot the old woman and her son, bogged down as they were in routine business, of which there was already enough at the police station.

The productivity of <fix> in technical vocabulary is quite evident. Neologisms and borrowed verbs whose meanings are consistent with this submeaning will form perfectives with *za*-. A concrete example is *zazemlit'* *za*-'land' 'ground electrically'. *Zaprotokolirovat'* *za*-'record' 'enter in the minutes' is similar in spirit to *zaregistrirovat'* *za*-'register' 'register' in the example above. *Zašifrovat'* *za*-'encode' 'encode' also involves the recording of information, although the intent here is more specific. *Zasekrečit'* *za*-'make secret' 'classify as secret' again involves a specialized storage of information. *Zaplanirovat'* *za*-'plan' 'plan' and *zaprogrammirovat'* *za*-'program' 'program' both signal the fixing of a course of action. In the Academy Grammar these two verbs are listed under a separate submeaning characterized as "*soveršit' zaranee, zablagovremenno,*

predvaritel'no, vprok dejstvie, nazvannoe motivirujuščim glagolom" 'to complete ahead of time, in advance, beforehand, for future use, the action named by the motivating verb'. This submeaning allegedly also includes *zaprodat' za-*'sell' make a sales contract', *zaarendovat' za-*'rent' 'make a rental agreement', and *zakontraktovat' za-*'contract' 'make a contract'. These verbs illustrate one of the differences between the traditional and modified structuralist approaches. The scholars who wrote the Academy Grammar saw their task as one of dissecting and identifying submeanings, rather than attempting to discover the system correlating them. A small number of verbs were found to include the notion of getting something ready ahead of time and thus this "beforehand" submeaning was established. In the present description, however, it is clear that these verbs are regular instances of a large and well-established submeaning, <fix>. Their particular realization of this submeaning entails the fixing of some sort of plan -- it is recorded and agreed upon, making it firm, and it is stored for future implementation. *Zaplanirovat' za-*'plan' 'plan' is the most representative verb of the group. The idea that such plans are made ahead of time is not attributable to the submeaning, it is rather a by-product of the base verbs involved: one does not make plans for the past but for the future, nor does one contract work done last year, rather one contracts for next year's work. Traditional scholars latched onto a notion that happens to be a peripheral, incidental product of the semantics of certain base verbs and used it to classify a submeaning of the prefix. Thus not only

was the true semantic content of the prefix unnoticed, but an artificial division was created, further obscuring the semantic unity of the submeanings.

Change of State

PATTERN A		POSSIBLE REFERENTS:
intrans subj -or- DO	= TR	objects (metaphorically situations and activities), beings
kuda PP -or- inc. in verb	= EX	states (see Table 9)

(LM is complement of EX)

This is essentially a metaphorical version of <fix>. Here cognitive space represents states. The landmark, or domain, designates the normal, natural state of the trajector, which passes into a state, represented by the extradomain, which is abnormal and/or stifles further development. The metaphorical link with <fix> is apparent in the fact that the state which is achieved is at least semi-permanent, if not immutable, and the trajector becomes stuck in this state in the same way that the trajectors of <fix> become mired in mud, caught between teeth and on doorjambs, and lodged on notepaper or in memory. In most cases the *za-* trajectory is an irreversible process,

and in the remainder, time and effort would be required to return the trajector to the landmark. "Change of state" is a unidirectional process, undeviating in its goal, as shown in Table 9.

Table 9: Unidirectionality of *za-* <change of state>

LM	EX	Examples
healthy	diseased	zabolet' 'fall ill'
		za-'hurt'
		zaxvorat' 'fall ill'
		za-'be ill'
active	inactive	zasnut' 'fall asleep'
		za-'sleep'
		zagipnotizirovat' 'hypnotize'
		za-'hypnotize'
normal	abnormal	zabespokoit' 'upset'
		za-'upset'
		zaputat'sja 'confuse'
		za-'confuse'-reflex
perishable	permanent	zasolit' 'pickle'
		za-'salt'
		zakonservirovat' 'preserve'
		za-'preserve'
soft	hard	zamorozit' 'freeze'
		za-'freeze'
		zakrepit' 'consolidate'
		za-'strengthen'

free	fixed	zastrjat' 'get stuck' za-'stick' zaregistrirovat' 'register' za-'register'

The terms in the first two columns are not meant to identify distinct groups, but to reflect the overall pattern. Note that the concrete submeaning <fix> is represented in the bottom row. The progress of the trajector in all of the <fix> and <change of state> verbs could be characterized as a change from "normal" to "abnormal," since in every case the trajector exchanges its canonical condition of health, activity, transience, pliability, and/or freedom, for an opposite state. The prefix *za-* indicates a direction of change, concretized in various ways by specific base verbs. This direction of change is the plot according to which the actions of the verbs are played out. Once we know the general direction of change indexed by *za-*, a certain amount of prediction is possible. Given the meaning of *kristallizovat'sja*, 'crystallize', which involves a change of soft to hard and free (in solution) to fixed, one might conclude that it is likely that this verb will have a prefixed perfective in *za-*. This is indeed the case. Conversely, since the change indicated by *za-* is unidirectional, we can predict that it is impossible to form a perfective antonym of this word with the prefix *za-*, i.e., there is no **zapustit' za-*'let' 'dissolve'.[16] Table 10 contains some of these

[16] Morphologically, the verb *zapustit'* does exist, but it cannot mean

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negative predictions.

'dissolve', cf. (5) above, only *raspustit'* can have this meaning. Similarly, *zarvat'sja* in Table 10 does exist, but it means 'go too far', rather than 'tear away'.

Table 10: Negative predictions for *za-*

unidirectionality

allows only:	not:
zabolet' 'fall ill'	*zazdorovet' 'recover'
za-'hurt'	*za-'be well'
	(cf. vyzdorovet')
zamorozit' 'freeze'	*zatajat' 'melt'
za-'freeze'	*za-'melt'
	(cf. rastajat')
zakostenet' 'stiffen'	*zamjagčit' 'soften'
za-'stiffen'	*za-'soften'
	(cf. smjagčit')
zabespokoit' 'upset'	*zatešit' 'calm'
za-'upset'	*za-'calm'
	(cf. utešit')
zastrjat' 'get stuck'	*zarvat'sja 'tear away'
za-'stick'	*za-'tear'-reflex
	(cf. otorvat'sja)
začarovat' 'bewitch'	*zasvobodit' 'free'
za-'bewitch'	*za-'free'
	(cf. osvobodit')

The <change of state> submeaning is a dynamic category which embraces newly borrowed verbs that fit the overall pattern given in

Table 9. Technical terms provide excellent examples of this: *zavulkanizirovat'* *za*-'vulcanize' 'cure rubber', *zaspirtovat'* *za*-'alcohol' 'preserve in alcohol', *zaxloroformirovat'* *za*-'chloroform' 'chloroform', and *zafiksirovat'* *za*-'fix' 'fix (chemically, in photography)'. Like <fix>, <change of state> does not specify any particular evaluation of the action: it may be desired, undesirable, or neutral.

26) Kak *zakaljalas'* (*za*-'heat'-reflex) stal'.

How the steel *was tempered.*

The steel (trajector) was made harder, more resistant to change (semi-permanent state of the extradomain). If the steel is not tempered, it may crack or bend (normal development in domain).

Concrete objects are not the only potential trajectors for this type of hardening.

27) Imenno v takix sem'jax deti polučajut navyki istinno kul'turnogo povedenija. Pozdnee èti navyki razov'et škola i *zakrepit* (*za*-'strengthen') trudovoj kollektiv.

In such families children learn the habits of cultured behavior. Later on, schooling will develop these habits and *consolidate* the worker's collective.

In some cases the new "hardened" state of the trajector is realized metaphorically as a state of increased difficulty or confusion. Note that in both cases this severely hinders or halts the otherwise normal development (i.e., the trajector is no longer in the domain).

28) Nenastnaja osennjaja pogoda sil'no *zatrudnjala* (*za*-'difficult') polety.

The foul autumn weather *made* flying very *difficult*.

29) V konce koncov, kak neredko byvaet v tex slučajax, kogda sporjat ljudi, ešče ne opredelivšie svoego otnošenija k voprosu, vse *zaputalos'* (*za*-'confuse'-reflex).

Finally, as often occurs when people argue without having first stated their views on the matter at hand, everything *got all mixed up*.

In both of the above examples, momentum was lost, the trajector went from a state of unhindered, normally-paced progress to a state of retarded development. This generalization is neatly summed up in the verb *zamedlit'* *za*-'tarry' 'slow down'. This verb is not isolated, cf. the newer formations *zatormozit'* *za*-'brake' 'brake' and *zadrosselirovat'* *za*-'throttle' 'throttle back' which testify to the productivity of this version of the <change of state> submeaning. Note also the more concrete correlate of *zaputat'sja* *za*-'confuse'-reflex 'get mixed up': *zamutit'* *za*-'muddy' 'make turbid, stir up, upset'.

30) Nebol'šaja rečka stanovilas' vse mel'če i mel'če, a rybij potok dvigalsja, ne *zamedljaja* (*za*-'tarry') xoda.

The little creek kept getting shallower and shallower, but the flow of fish moved on, not *slowing* its pace.

<Change of state> also accounts for *za-* prefixed verbs meaning 'pickle, preserve'. Food (trajector), if it is not preserved in some way (brought to the semi-permanent state of the extradomain) will rot (normal development in the domain).

31) Prošlyj god vosem' meškov odnoj kartoški sobrali da ogurcov kadku *zasolili* (*za-*'salt'). Rybak., AD 4:876.

Last year they gathered eight bags of potatoes alone and *pickled* a vat of cucumbers.

If the trajector is a person, the states involved may be states of consciousness. In this case, the person goes from a canonical or active state to an inactive or abnormal state.

32) Krestjane v zaplatannyx zipunax, beglye inoki, prosto guljaščie ljudi bez rodu, bez plemeni edjat, p'jut, pojut xmel'nye pesni, *zasypajut* (*za-*'sleep') zdes' že na zemle vozle šatrov, čtoby, prosnuvšis', snova est' i pit'.

Peasants in patched coats, escaped monks, and all sorts of rootless wanderers were eating, drinking, singing drinking songs and *falling asleep* right there on the ground next to the tents so that when they woke up they could eat and drink again.

33) Romantika, xitraja lesnaja ved'ma s lis'im pušistym telom, izvorotlivaja, kak tat', kak rosomaxa, podsteregajuščaja každyj

naš nevernyj šag, bacnula Glebu neožidanno pod dyx, otravila sladkim gazom, *zagipnotizirovala* (*za*-'hypnotize') rasširennymi lživopečal'nymi glazami.

Romance, a sly forest witch with a vixen's fluffy body, shrewd as a thief, like a wolverine, on the lookout for every unsure step, caught Gleb unawares, poisoned him with a sweet gas, and *hypnotized* him with her wide-open, insincerely-sorrowful eyes.

Excess

PATTERN A		POSSIBLE REFERENTS:
intrans subj -or- DO	= TR	beings, objects, newness
PP -or- inc. in verb	= EX	death, exhaustion, undesirable states

(LM is complement of EX)

This submeaning is very similar to the <change of state> submeaning. The only significant differences between these two submeanings are that <excess> involves a negative evaluation of the process and focuses on the transgression of the boundary of the landmark by the

trajector. On one level, verbs denoting <excess> are merely <change of state> verbs, with the specification that the state represented by the domain is preferable to that represented by the extradomain. On another level, for verbs denoting <excess>, the landmark is a band of normal tolerance of the trajector for a given activity (ranging from zero or minimal, to dangerous). As long as the level of this activity is maintained within the boundaries of the landmark, the trajector will not depart from it. Consistent overexposure to the given activity will cause the trajector to leave the domain, entering an undesirable state which inhibits the trajector's otherwise normal development. Like <change of state> and <fix>, <excess> is a unidirectional process which is difficult or impossible to reverse. The activity named by the base verb either is a kind of torture (such as beating, nagging) or becomes torturous due to its intensity. A classic example is *zarabotat'sja* *za*-'work'-reflex 'overwork oneself', which has elicited spin-offs like *zakrutit'sja* *za*-'spin'-reflex, *zavertet'sja* *za*-'twist'-reflex, *zaparit'sja* *za*-'steam'-reflex, *zakružit'sja*, *za*-'turn'-reflex, *zamotat'sja* *za*-'wind'-reflex, *zaxlopotat'sja* *za*-'bustle'-reflex, *zasuetit'sja* *za*-'fuss'-reflex, zasovat'sja, *za*-'shove'-reflex, all with approximately the same meaning.

34) Ax, kak ustal! *Zarabotalsja* (*za*-'work'-reflex) sovsem, otdyxa sebe ne znaju. A. Ostr., AD 4:834.

Oh, I'm so tired! I've really *overworked myself*. I've forgotten what it's like to rest.

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Here, work, an ordinary daily activity, has reached torturous intensity. The individual (trajector) is in a state of exhaustion (extradomain) and requires rest in order to recover. Many seemingly neutral activities conceal hidden tortures, as these verbs indicate: *zakupat'sja* *za*-'bathe'-reflex 'get tired from bathing', *zabegat'sja* *za*-'run'-reflex 'get tired from running', *zarisovat'sja* *za*-'draw'-reflex 'get tired from drawing', *zaprygat'sja* *za*-'jump'-reflex 'get tired from jumping', *začixat'sja* *za*-'sneeze'-reflex 'get tired from sneezing', *zaxozjajničat'sja* *za*-'keep house'-reflex 'get tired from housekeeping', *zaskakat'sja* *za*-'leap'-reflex 'get tired from leaping', *zastrjapat'sja* *za*-'cook'-reflex 'get tired from cooking'.

35) Svoi stixotvorenija čitaet mne Svistov, i s nim pevec dosužij... Čitajut i čitajut i do smerti menja ubijcy *začitajut* (*za*-'read')! Batjušk., AD 4:1092.

Svistov reads me his poetry, he and that idler of a singer. They read and read, the murderers *will read* me to death!

36) Baba *zaxodilas'* (*za*-'walk'-reflex) okolo samovara, -- mužika čaem popoit'. Čex., AD 4:1063.

The woman *got tired out from walking* around the samovar, giving the man tea to drink.

37) Byvaet tak: učat, učat čeloveka, emu uže pora svoimi mozgami ševelit', a ego vse učat; smotriš', i xireet čelovek: *zaučili* (*za*-'teach'). Rybak., AD 4:1038.

It happens that they will teach and teach a man even though it's already time for him to use his own brains, but they keep on teaching him. Then you see that the man is sickly: they'*ve worn* him *out with their teaching*.

In these three examples the trajectors (two men and one woman) are suffering in states of varying exhaustion from what would have been, under normal circumstances, harmless activities. Their tolerance of these activities has, however, been exceeded (the boundary of the landmark has been transgressed).

Activities which are normally pleasant and/or beneficial can also be carried to harmful extremes.

38) Ja o xozjajke upominaju edinstvenno potomu, čto ona v menja vljubilas' strastno i čut'-čut' ne *zakormila* (*za*-'feed') menja na smert'. Turg., AD 4:498.

I mention the landlady only because she fell passionately in love with me and nearly *fed* me to death.

Overfeeding brings the patient (trajector) of the action to a state of bodily disease (extradomain), which can be difficult to remedy. In the above example, the dangers may be more imagined than real, however.

39) Možet byt', emu prišlo na um, čto, požaluj, i opjat' rodit'sja doč', opjat' *zaljubit* (*za*-'love') i *zalečit* (*za*-'cure') ee, vmeste s doktorami, do smerti Sof'ja Nikolaevna. S. Aks., AD 4:629.

Perhaps it occurred to him that another daughter might be born and that Sof'ja Nikolaevna would again *wear* the child *out with her love* and, together with the doctors, *kill* it *with too much medicine*.

Tender loving care is in this example a dangerous activity -- it has already put one little girl (trajector) to death and has the potential to do the same to any subsequent daughters.

40) Druz'ja i prijateli *zaxvalili* (*za*-'praise') ego ne v meru, tak vot on už teper', čaj, dumaet o sebe, čto on čut'-čut' ne Šekspir. Gog., AD 4:1044

His friends and acquaintances *praised* him *too much*, and now he must think that he is almost as good as Shakespeare.

In the previous examples of <excess> the resultant state of the trajector was one of physical exhaustion, disease, or death. Here the acquired state is not a physical one, but a mental one -- conceit.

Daily wear and tear can be too much for one's garments, causing them to become worn out, often beyond repair.

41) Akakij Akakievič rešil kak možno reže otdavat' pračke myt' bel'e, a čtoby ne *zanašivalos'* (*za*-'carry'-reflex), to vsjakij raz, prixodja domoj, skidat' ego. Gog., AD 4:708

Akakij Akakievič decided to take his underwear to be laundered as infrequently as possible, and, so that it *wouldn't get worn out*, he always took it off as soon as he got home.

Songs, plays and other theatrical works of art are also subject to wear and tear: if they are performed repeatedly, people grow tired of them. In essence, their newness wears out.

42) Ja ne stanu vas ugoščat' *zaigrannymi* (*za*-'play') i *zapetymi* (*za*-'sing') *Trovatore, Ernani*. Nemir-Danc., AD 4:756

I will not try to entertain you with *Trovatore* and *Ernani*, which are *overplayed* and *oversung* (*old hat*).

Predictably enough, many *za*- <excess> prefixed verbs are formed from simplexes which denote torture or tortuous activities.

43) Ili mog by nam s vami byt' prijaten čelovek, kotoryj postojanno, každuju minutu napominal by vsem, čto ego *zaedajut* (*za*-'eat') bloxi? Net, konečno. No v konce XVIII veka každyj, kto ne xotel vygljadet' otstajuščim ot mody, ne predstavljal sebe, kak možno pokazat'sja na ljudjax bez... blošinoj lovuški na grudi.

Or could you enjoy the company of a person who constantly, every minute reminded everyone that he was being *bitten up* (*tormented*) by fleas? No, of course not. But in the late 18th century anyone who didn't want to be unfashionable could not imagine going out in public without a flea trap on his chest.

44) Lošad' že on *zamučil* (*za*-'torture') i *zadergal* (*za*-'tug') tak, čto i ona sbilas', togda kak sama, verno, došla by xorošo. Dal', AD 4:407.

He *tortured* and *wore out* his horse so much (*by tugging at the reins*) that it went astray, although it probably could have gotten there by itself.

45) Malo-zamalo načal Čuktunov ženu kolotit'. Iz sinjakov babenka ne vyxodit, a muž guljaet da ee že tiranit. Tak do samoj smerti ee *zatiranil* (*za*-'tyrannize'). Mam.-Sib., AD 4:983.

Little by little Čuktonov started battering his wife. The little woman didn't go out because of her bruises, but he went out on the town and kept tyrannizing her. Thus he *tyrannized* her to death.

Death has been mentioned as a result in several of the examples above. For many verbs, particularly ones formed from base verbs denoting physical harm, such as beating, hitting, pecking, kicking, the notion of killing something or someone is so strong that it competes with <excess>. Although from the point of view of the patient of the verb, the action is certainly in excess of its tolerance, the overall evaluation of the action depends on the intention of the subject of the verb. If the subject does not wish to kill the object, the action of the *za-* prefixed verbs may be recognized as excessive.

46) Telesnye nakazanija vo vsex vidax i formax javljalis' glavnym pedagogičeskim priemom. Dopuskalos' tol'ko odno ograničenie: kak by ne *zastukat'* (*za*-'knock') sovsem! Salt., AD 4:941.

Corporal punishment was an important pedagogical tool. There was only one limitation: don't *beat* them *too much* (to *death*)!

If, however, the aim is to kill the patient of the verb, the notion of excess is reduced or absent.

47) Nesčastnaja devuška byla *zasečena* (*za*-'cut') nagajkoj i predstavljala teper' bezobraznyj kusok strašno izbitogo mjasa. Mam.-Sib., AD 4:889.

The unfortunate girl *was flogged to death* with a whip and now she looked like an ugly piece of horribly hacked-up meat.

There are two minor variations on this pattern of <excess>. In one, it is not the intensity of the verbal action which is excessive, but its duration.

48) Doma Kuz'mu ždal Evgenij Nikolaevič. -- *Zaguljalsja* (*za*-'stroll'-reflex) ty, Kuz'ma, *zaguljalsja*. -- Davno ždes', Evgenij Nikolaevič? -- Tak, davnen'ko uže.

Evgenij Nikolaevič was waiting for Kuz'ma at home. "You've *been out walking too long*, Kuz'ma." "Have you been waiting long, Evgenij Nikolaevič?" "Yes, quite a little while."

49) Plutovskaja fizionomija "druželjuba" lučilas' blagostnym, počti rodstvennym čuvstvom. *Zaždalis'*(*za*-'wait'-reflex), govorila fizionomija, *zaždalis'*, golubuški Krafailovy, prosto moči net.

The roguish physiognomy of the "friendly fellow" shone with a kind, almost familial feeling. You'*ve been waiting around too long*, said his physiognomy, *too long*, my dear Krafailovs, you just haven't any strength left.

According to the second variation on <excess>, society is the evaluator of the action, which is judged excessive when it exceeds societal norms. Standard examples are verbs such as *zaumničat'sja* (*za*-'act smart'-reflex) 'act too smart', and *zakoketničat'sja* (*za*-'flirt'-reflex) 'flirt too much'.

50) Ego neslo, neslo čerez porogi styda, po valunam kosnojazyčija, bessovestnym mutnym potokom pošlosti, grafomanii, slovobludija i neizbyvnoj ljubvi, žalosti, vospominanij, a vperedi pobleskivalo zelenoe boloto poxmel'ja. -- Ja beru u vas odinnadcat' kopeek, -- vdrug xolodnym čužim tonom skazal "starik," i Kim srazu prikusil jazyk, ponjal, čto *zarvalsja* (*za*-'tear'-reflex).

He got carried away, away beyond the threshold of shame, along the rocks of crooked speech, the unscrupulous turbid streams of banality, graphomania, verbomania and inescapable love, sorrow, and memory, and before him sparkled the green swamp of intoxication. "I'll take the eleven kopecks from you," the "old friend" suddenly said in a cold and alien tone, and Kim quickly bit his lip. He understood that he *had gone too far*.

Similarly, *zadorožit'sja* (*za*-'value'-reflex) 'ask too high a price' and *zavyšat'* (*za*-'raise') 'raise (work norms, evaluations) too high' reflect action in excess of that which is acceptable and tolerated by society.

Note that the <excess> verbs correspond to the overall pattern of the <fix> and <change of state> verbs. In this submeaning the trajector becomes fixed in a new, negatively evaluated state. All instantiations of this submeaning could be included in the row labelled normal > abnormal in Table 9.

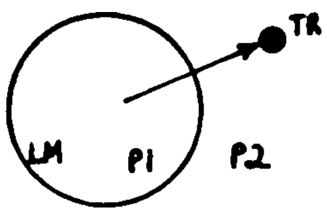
Inchoative

PATTERN A		POSSIBLE REFERENTS:
intrans subj	= TR	beings, machines
activity named by base verb	= EX	movement, noise-making, other activities
rest	= LM	

Although this submeaning uses the same configuration as the preceding submeanings, <inchoative> has a very specific, distinct interpretation of it. The trajector is an action and the landmark is a person or other agent of the action. Until the action is performed, it remains a hidden potential of the subject of the verb. A useful

device for explaining the relationship of this submeaning to the configuration and to the other submeanings is the reference point. In the preceding submeanings the reference point was either landmark-internal or nonspecific, but for all <inchoative> verbs the reference point is necessarily landmark-external. No matter which side of the landmark boundaries the reference point is on, these boundaries delimit what is within its normal purview. Anything which is beyond this boundary is removed from the purview of the reference point, and remains so unless it relocates itself on the same side of the boundary. The position of the reference point is context-dependent. This phenomenon accounts[17] for the seemingly antithetical uses of English *out*.

Figure 10: out



For examples like ***her ideas are way out*** and ***get out of here,*** the reference point is located at P1 and the trajectors are outside of or leave the purview of the reference point. For ***he came out of the closet*** and ***he stuck in his thumb and pulled out a plum,*** however, the

[17] I offer this as an alternative to Lindner's tangential circles to explain these uses of *out*.

perspective is located at P2 and although the trajectors are performing the same action with respect to the landmark, this time they are entering the purview of the reference point.

For <deflection> verbs such as *zabludit'sja za-*'wander' 'get lost', *zabyt' za-*'be' 'forget', the reference point landmark-internal and the trajector departs from the reference point, becoming lost or hidden either in space or in oblivion. <Inchoative> verbs specify that the reference point is landmark-external. When an action is performed the hidden potential appears on the same side of the boundary as the reference point, it pops into view. This signals the initiation of an activity. This also accounts for the element of suddenness or unexpectedness present in many examples of <inchoative>.

Another way of looking at <inchoative> is to identify the landmark as a basal or zero level of activity (with respect to the action named by the base verb, the landmark is always a zero level) at which the agent would otherwise continue. A deviation from this base line would occur when an activity is started. Either way, the landmark is a state of rest which the trajector leaves by initiating an activity.

51) -- Vot ved' narod kakoj! -- kriknula Valja. -- Nu gde že ja tebe banku voz'mu? -- Mne xot' malen'kuju... Xot' kakuju... Možet, v butylku možno? -- vinovato poprosila Anna Stepanovna, slyša, kak *zašumeli* (*za-*'be noisy') i *zašamkalis'* (*za-*'mumble'-reflex), *zarugalis'* (*za-*'swear'-reflex) na nee v očeredi.

"Such people!" screamed Valja. "Where am I to get you a jar?"

"Just give me a little one... Any kind... Maybe a little bottle?" asked Anna Stepanovna in a guilty voice, hearing the people in line *begin to fuss*, *murmur* and *curse at* her.

Normally people in line stand quietly, but in this case they were provoked to depart from their canonical behavior.

52) Gor'kij govoril kak-to, čto, esli čeloveka vse vremja nazyvat' svin'ej, v konce koncov on *zaxrjukaet* (*za*-'oink').

Gor'kij once said that if you call a man a pig all the time, he'*ll* eventually *begin to oink*.

This example is of a rather surprising departure from basal behavior.

53) Vyšla v svet novaja plastinka. Golosom Larisy Gerštejn *zagovoril* (*za*-'talk') drugoj Okudžava.

A new record has come out. Another Okudžava *has begun to speak* in the voice of Larisa Gerštejn.

54) Po nočam v temnoj zvezdnoj vyšine *zavyvali* (*za*-'howl') motory vražeskix samoletov.

At night in the starry black heavens, the motors of enemy planes *would begin to howl*.

55) Načal'nik pervym *zaprotestoval* (*za*-'protest'), kogda vstal vopros -- stoit li priglašat' zavedujuščuju kassoj k prazdničnomu stolu.

The boss was the first *to start protesting* when the question arose, whether or not the head cashier should be invited to the holiday feast.

The "inchoative" submeaning is numerically predominant, and is relatively homogeneous. One verb, *začat'* *za*-'begin' 'conceive, begin', which is supposedly unanalyzable (since the base verb occurs only in conjunction with two other prefixes, *po*- and *na*-, and does not occur independently) is an example of this submeaning. Also, some verbs which belong to other submeanings overlap with <inchoative>. These verbs are said to be multiply motivated,[18] since they bear more than one relationship to the *za*- prototype. *Zabolet'* *za*-'hurt' 'fall ill', for example, denotes both a change of state and the initiation of ill-being (as opposed to well-being). *Zaplesnevet'* *za*-'grow moldy' and *zagnit'* *za*-'rot' 'turn moldy' cooccur with *za*- in three submeanings: <inchoative> ('begin to rot'), <change of state> (fresh > rotten), and <cover> (since mold is largely a surface phenomenon).

56) Kommunističeskaja partija i Sovetskoe pravitel'stvo učat molodež' byt' neprimirimymi ko vsem urodlivym javlenijam, ubirat' so svoego puti vse skvernoe, ostavšeesja ot starogo obščestva i pronikajuščee k nam raznymi putjami iz *zagnivajuščego* (*za*-'rot') buržuaznogo mira.

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[18] This term comes from Lakoff, personal communication 6/9/83.

The Communist party and the Soviet government teach youth to be uncompromising in the face of all unnatural phenomena, to clear out of their way all the foul things left over from the former society, which have by various routes penetrated ours from the bourgeois world which *is beginning to rot*.

57) Lučše v ljutye morozy letat', čem v takoj syrosti. Èto že ne tuman, a čert znaet čto. Ot doždej da tumanov i *zaplesnevet'* (*za*-'grow moldy') ne mudreno.

It would be better to fly in extreme cold than in this dampness. The devil knows what that is, but it isn't fog. I wouldn't be surprised if (we) *got moldy* from the fog and rain.

Exchange

PATTERN B		POSSIBLE REFERENTS:
trans subj	= TR	beings, objects
DO	= EX	desired objects, money, attention, love
inc. in verb	= LM	effort, objects

(*zamenit'* 'exchange', deviates, equating TR and LM)

Here, in effect, the trajector trades the landmark for the extradomain.

In concrete examples, this involves simple substitution.

58) Esli čaj *zamenjaet* (*za*-'change') legkij užin, razmestite na stole maslenki so slivočnym maslom, tarelki s vetčinoj, syrom, xolodnoj teljatinoj i drugimi produktami dlja buterbrodov.

If tea *is being replaced by* a light dinner, set the table with butterdishes containing butter and plates with ham, cheese, cold veal and other sandwich ingredients.

In the context of afternoon meal, tea (normal) is abandoned in favor of something evaluated as more substantial, a light supper, the extradomain.

More frequently the exchange involves things such as work, attention, love, which can be regarded as entities (landmarks) only metaphorically. A classic example of this submeaning is *zarabotat'* (*za*-'work') 'to earn', in which work is exchanged for pay (or, as in the example below, for some other compensation).

59) U nix v dome počti vsegda byla xorošaja, sytnaja eda: xleba Kuz'ma *zarabatyval* (*za*-'work') vdovol' daže v neurožajnye gody, moloko i mjaso šli so svoego dvora. No den'gi...

At home they almost always had good, satisfying food: Kuz'ma *earned* enough grain even in years of poor harvest and they got milk and meat from their own plot. But money...

60) Nalim, nesomnenno, xorošaja, vkusnaja ryba, no isključitel'nogo vnimanija potrebitelej ona *zaslužila* (*za*-'serve') iz-za svoej pečeni.

The burbot is doubtless a good, tasty fish, but it *has earned* special attention from consumers because of its liver.

In this example, the fish has traded (much against its will) its delicious organs for gourmet recognition. In many examples, however, attention is focused almost exclusively on the trajector's attainment of the extradomain. The specific efforts or other sacrifice (LM) which the trajector has to give up are unspecified.

61) Tomu, kto vystupaet na sobranii, prixoditsja *zavoevyvat'* (*za*-'war') vnimanie odnovremenno mnogix ljudej i govorit' to, čto važno i interesno dlja vsex.

Anyone who makes a presentation at a meeting must both *win* the attention of many people at the same time and say something of interest and importance to everyone.

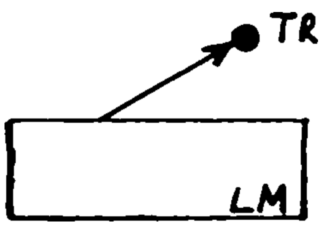
62) Tak prišla k Rjabovoj bol'šaja, nastojaščaja ljubov'. Katja *zaslužila* (*za*-'serve') ee, i ja radovalas' za podrugu.

Thus a great, true love came to Rjabovaja. Katja *deserved* it, and I was happy for my friend.

If it is at all relevant to name the referent of the original landmark in these two examples, the best that could be done would be to identify it as some sort of effort on the part of the subject of the verb.

5.3 CONFIGURATION 2

Surface



Surface

PATTERN A POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

DO	= TR	spots, marks
PP -or- TR's Location	= LM	cloth, wood, metal

This is a minor submeaning, associated with a small number of verbs, all of which describe the removal of something (trajector) from the surface of another object (landmark). Configuration 2 is a three-dimensional version of configuration 1. When locked in two dimensions, the trajector of configuration 1 which is located on the landmark, must transgress the landmark's boundary in order to leave it. In configuration 2, the trajector escapes via the third dimension. Thus the landmark is a solid object which we see only a cross-section of in the diagram and the third dimension corresponds to the vertical axis of the page. The trajector is either a spot of dirt, as in verbs

zastirat' (*za*-'launder'), *zamyt'* (*za*-'wash'), *začistit'* (*za*-'clean') 'wash out' (a spot), or a small piece of the landmark, as in *zapilit'* (*za*-'saw') 'saw a notch', *zarubit'* (*za*-'chop') 'chop a notch'.

63) Čto èto u vas na xalate opjat' pjatno? Skin'te da dajte skoree, ja vyvedu i *zamoju* (*za*-'wash'). Zavtra ničego ne budet. Gonč., AD 4:698.

Do you have a spot on your dress again? Take it off and give to me right away. I'll take it out and *wash* it *off*. Tomorrow it will be all right.

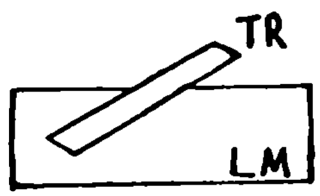
64) V dremučij les neset svoj klad seljanin. Gluboko v zemlju zaryvaet. I na česujšatoj sosne svoj znak s zakljat'em *zarubaet* (*za*-'chop'). A. K. Tolst., AD 4:858.

The villager carries his treasure into the sleepy forest. And saying a curse, he *etches* his mark on a scaly pine.

This second type of <surface> verb bears some relation to <fix> in that by making notches one can record information in a crude way.

5.4 CONFIGURATION 3

Cover



Cover

PATTERN B		POSSIBLE REFERENTS:
trans subj -or- agt inc in verb	= TR	paint, snow, masks, shadows, dirt (substances that cover), sounds, tastes
DO	= LM	surfaces, identities, honor, sounds, tastes

The trajector in this configuration is a substance which is unrolled like a carpet or spread like syrup over the landmark, embracing the trajectory and being identified with it. The exactness of the fit of the trajector to the landmark is determined by context, as is the shape of the landmark.

65) Leto bylo na isxode. Oblaka vse cašče *zavolakivali* (*za*-'drag') nebo.

Summer was on its way out. Clouds *covered* the sky more and more frequently.

66) V mogilu ee votknuli doščečku s nomerom. I tol'ko kogda syruju ètu mogilu *zasypalo* (*za*-'pour') snegom, iz Knjanova prišla spravočka v gorodskoj otdel milicii, gde bylo skazano, kto ona i otkuda.

A little plate with a number was stuck on her grave. Not until her fresh grave *was covered* with snow did a message come from Knjanov to the municipal police department, saying who she was and where she was from.

Zaščitit' *za*-'shield' 'defend' is a good example of a metaphorical use of this submeaning. An individual is covered and thereby protected by defense of some kind.

67) 1917 god. Na vesax istorii -- sud'ba Rosii i buduščee proletarskoj revoljucii. Lenin vynužden skryvat'sja. Nikem ne zamečennyj, *zagrimirovannyj,* (*za*-'make up') vyxodit on iz vagona na stancii.

It was 1917. The fate of Russia and the future of the proletarian revolution weighed in the balances of history. Lenin was forced to hide. Unnoticed by anyone and *made up,* he got out of the car at the station.

The covering in this example is accomplished on two levels. Physically, the make-up covers Lenin's face, and metaphorically it also covers up his identity.

68) Stremjas' *zamaskirovat'* (*za*-'mask') suščnost' buržuaznoj morali, ekspluatatorskie klassy propovedujut svoeobraznyj kul't pravil priličij, xorošix maner...

Trying *to mask over* the essence of bourgeois morality, the exploiting classes preach their own cult of rules of behavior and good manners...

69) I dejstvitel'no, "Priključenija majora Pronina" čitajut gorazdo bol'šaja auditorija, čem Bunina, Benediktov *zatmevol* (*za*-'darken') Puškina, a Potapenko -- Čexova.

Indeed, "The Adventures of Major Pronin" is read by a much bigger audience than Bunin, Benediktov has *overshadowed* Puškin, and Potapenko has done the same to Čexov.

70) Svoim prostupkom vy opozorili svetloe imja gvardejca, *zapjatnali* (*za*-'spot') čest' svoego slavnogo boevogo polka.

By your transgression, you have disgraced the splendid title of guardsman and *besmeared* the honor of your own glorious fighting regiment.

These three examples are all metaphorical uses of <cover> verbs which are also serviceable in concrete contexts (covering with a mask, eclipsing, physical besmearing). The following verb is, however, an example of metaphorical extension of the submeaning <cover>.

71) Zvuki lesa *zaglušalis'* (*za*-'deafen') revom dvigatelja i boltovnej sotrudnikov.

The sounds of the forest *were drowned out by* the roar of the engine and the chatter of the workers.

This verb identifies sounds as entities (landmark and trajector), the louder of which "covers up" the other.

Metaphorically, something can take over (cover) someone's heart, as in the following example.

72) Rabota v aeroklube, polety vse bol'še *zaxvatyvali* (*za*-'grab') menja, i ja stala podumyvat' o tom, čtoby otkazat'sja ot objazannostej staršej pionerovožatoj, kotorye vypolnjala v 144-j srednej škole. Voznikli mysli i ob institute, razumeetsja aviacionnom.

Work in the aeroclub and flying *captivated* me and I began thinking that I should quit my job as a senior Pioneer leader in high school No. 144. Thoughts of going to an institute, an aviation institute, of course, arose.

There is one "submeaning" of *za-* identified by Boguslawski and the Academy Grammar which is characterized as "*dejstvie, nazvannoe motivirujuščim glagolom, soveršit' srazu posle drugogo dejstvija*" 'perform the action named by the motivating verb immediately after another action'. Only two verbs, formed from the base verbs *est'* 'eat' and *pit'* 'drink' represent this submeaning:[19] *zaest'* *za*-'eat'

[19] The Academy Grammar notes some limited productivity of this type, but the verbs thus formed remain in the realm of literary creativity and have not entered the lexicon. Also, these verbs are limited to precisely the same contexts as are *zaest'* *za*-'eat' 'chase' and *zapit'* *za*-'drink' 'wash down': *zaževat'* *za*-'chew' 'chase, chewing' and *zanjuxat'* *za*-'sniff' 'chase, sniffing' (this verb testifies to the bravado of a man who, rather than needing a solid chaser, can make do with merely a whiff of some strong-

'chase (with food after a strong alcoholic drink)' and *zapit' za*-'drink' 'wash down (food with drink)'. Despite traditional classifications, the establishment of a submeaning containing only two verbs, neither of which are high-frequency and both of which are restricted to a very specific context, is suspicious. In addition, there is good reason to include these verbs in the <cover> submeaning.[20]

The standard context of *zaest' za*-'eat' 'chase' involves a person or persons sitting behind a bottle of vodka. Since most people do not savor this drink, they will eat some delicious food immediately after drinking in order to eradicate the aftertaste.

73) Ja vypival u stojki rjumku vodki, *zaedal* (*za*-'eat') krupnym, sočnym pirožkom s mjasom. Veres., AD 4:439.

I was drinking a shot of vodka at the bar and *chasing* it with a round, juicy meat pie.

On occasion this verb can refer to the eating of one food right after another food. The intent here is similar: the food eaten first has a strong taste and/or an unpleasant aftertaste, as does the meat of wild game.

---

smelling food).

[20] I am indebted to Pamela Russell, who suggested that these verbs might be <cover> verbs in a seminar (Slavic 282) held at UCLA in the spring of 1982.

74) My lakomimsja dič'ju, dobytoj na oxote, *zaedaem* (*za*-'eat') kušan'e močenymi grušami i mušmuloj. Sok.-Mikit., AD 4:439.

We feast on the game we hunt, *washing down* the meal with marinated pears and loquats.

Likewise, *zapit'* *za*-'drink' 'wash down' is used in contexts where a food with a heavy taste (such as honey) or something with a repellent taste (like medicine) is followed by a more neutral drink.

75) My *zapili* (*za*-'drink') prozračnyj, teplyj med ključevoj vodoj. Turg., AD 4:764.

We *washed down* the transparent, warm honey with spring water.

76) On naglotalsja poroškov, *zapiv* (*za*-'drink') ix xolodnoj vodoj prjamo iz-pod krana. Katerli, AD 4:764.

He swallowed a number of pills and *washed* them *down* with cold water straight from the tap.

As the examples above demonstrate, the verbs *zaest'* *za*-'eat' 'chase' and *zapit'* *za*-'drink' 'wash down' are used in situations where there is a desire to mask or cover up a strong taste in one's mouth. Metaphorically, the landmark represents the strong taste which the trajector, or flavor of the food or drink which follow, covers up. This metaphorical extension of <cover> is very similar to that responsible for *zaglušit'* *za*-'deafen' 'drown out'. In both cases

perceptions are metaphorically recognized as entities, one of which covers the other. The fact that the actions named by these verbs follow other actions is not significant in discovering the submeaning with which these verbs are associated. Like the "ahead of time" notion attributed to certain <fix> verbs by traditional scholars, "one after another" is a peripheral, accidental element in the semantic makeup of these verbs.

The verb *zapit'* *za*-'drink' 'wash down' also admits of metaphorical usage, as in the examples below.

77) Položiv nogu na nogu, *zapivaja* (*za*-'drink') každuju frazu čaem s romom, on rasskazyval o svoix uspexax na scene. Čex., AD 4:764.

Having crossed his legs, and *washing down* every phrase with tea with rum, he talked about his theatrical successes.

Since talking is done through the mouth, it can be metaphorically associated with the sensation of taste. The narrator in the above example washes down the sweet taste which this discussion produces.

78) Zlost'-tosku mužiki na lošadkax sorvut, koli denežki est' -- raskošeljatsja i kručinušku štofom *zap'jut* (*za*-'drink'). Nekr., AD 4:764.

The men vent their anger and spite on their horses. If they have money, they spend it and they *drown* their sorrows in a pint (of vodka).

In this example the <cover> metaphor is supported on two levels. Not only does vodka mask the bitter taste of sorrow, but it masks the memory of it as well.

5.5 CONFIGURATION 4

Splatter



Splatter

PATTERN B		POSSIBLE REFERENTS:
instrumental agt -or- agt inc in verb	= TR	groups of objects, divisible substances
DO	= LM	surfaces

This submeaning is identical to <cover> except that the trajector is a group of objects or a divisible object rather than a single mass. The result is a scattering of objects or spots over a surface rather than a solid layer, as in <cover>.

79) Nel'zja *zasorjat'* (*za*-'dirty') pijaž ob"edkami, okurkami, gazetnoj bumagoj i t. p.

One must not *litter* the beach with scraps of food, cigarette butts, newspaper, etc.

80) Vo vremja doždlivoj pogody možno vstretit' devušek, u kotoryx čulki i niz pal'to *zabryzgany* (*za*-'splatter') grjaz'ju.

During rainy weather one meets girls whose stockings and coat hems *are spattered* with mud.

In the first example the trajector is a group of objects distributed over the landmark (beach), whereas in the second, the trajector (mud) is divided into droplets and applied to the landmark (stockings and coat hem). The entities involved need not be tangible, as in *zacelovat' za*-'kiss' 'shower with kisses'.

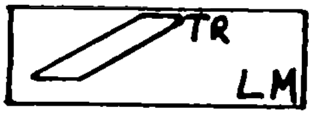
81) -- Tak už, veruju, -- uklončivo proiznes on, vstal i zažeg svoju malen'kuju tuskluju, *zasižennuju* (*za*-'sit') muxami lampočku.

"So what, I believe," he stated evasively. He got up and lit his dim little lamp which *was covered with fly specks* (lit. *sat all over* by flies).

The euphemistic verb *zasidet' za*-'sit' 'fly-spot (lit. to sit all over)' is a metonymical extension of the <splatter> submeaning, obviously motivated by a desire to avoid direct reference both to flies and to their leavings. Reference is made only to sitting, yet this suffices since this verb is securely lodged in a very specific semantic niche.

5.6 CONFIGURATION 5

Fill



Fill

PATTERN B		POSSIBLE REFERENTS:
trans subj -or- inc in verb	= TR	stuffing, putty, objects
DO	= LM	containers, holes

This submeaning is also very closely related to <cover>. Rather than a two-dimensional surface to be covered, <fill> makes reference to a three-dimensional container, or hole, to be filled. The sides of the container need not be exceeded in filling it, likewise the trajector seeks the boundaries of the landmark, but does not transgress them.

In the verb *zafarširovat'* *za*-'stuff' 'stuff (a turkey or duck)', the trajector is the stuffing and the hollow left after the removal of internal organs is the landmark. Similarly, in the verb *zašpaklevat'* *za*-'putty' 'putty', the landmark and trajector are holes in the wall and putty, respectively. The examples below are analogous.

82) Vot, razglad'te stany i *zaštopajte* (*za*-'darn') dyročku.

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Here, iron these pants and *darn* the hole.

83) Vdrug dver' s zadnego kryl'ca, ta v kotoruju on vošel včera, kogda priexal, raspaxnulas', nečto massivnoe vdvinulos' i *zagorodilo* (*za*-'fence') proem...

Suddenly the back door, through which he had entered yesterday when he arrived, flew open and some massive object moved in and *blocked* the doorway.

This submeaning also has metaphorical uses, such as the host's attempt to block the chatter flowing from his guest's mouth in the example below.

84) Tščetno pytaetsja xozjain *zatknut'* (*za*-'poke') ètu dušeskrebnuju skvažinu. Tščetno zalivaet on ee čaem i nabrasivaet plastyr' iz pečen'ja. Vse tščetno. Gost' neumolim.

In vain the host tries to *shut up* this annoying cavity. In vain he pours on tea, applies cookies as a gag. But it is all in vain. His guest is implacable.

There is some natural overlap between <cover> and <fill>. Given a hole, the difference between treating it as a two-dimensional landmark (and therefore covering it) and treating it as a three-dimensional object (and filling it) may be insignificant. Does a door cover the doorway or does it fill it (cf. *zakryt' za*-'cover' 'close', *zaxlopnut' za*-'bang' 'slam')?

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5.7 SUMMARY

At this point it should be possible to open a dictionary to *za-* and recognize the submeanings which most, if not all, verbs are associated with. The concepts connecting verbs to submeanings and in turn submeanings to configurations, as originally presented in 5.1, have been discussed in some detail. With this in mind, we now turn to an analysis of the prefix *pere-*.

Chapter VI

PERE-

Perešagni, pereskači, pereleti, pere-
čto xočeš'

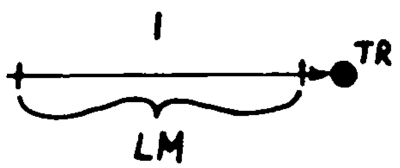
Step over, jump over,
Fly over, whatever-you-like over

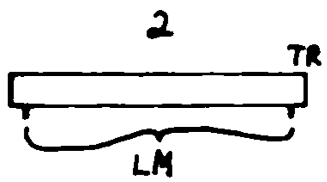
V. F. Xodasevič

Pere- is by far the most versatile of the four prefixes dealt with in this dissertation. The central configuration (numbered 1) is very simple, allowing more submeanings to be associated with it and more configurations to be derived from it than was the case for *za-*. In about two-thirds of its submeanings, *pere-* performs approximately the same function as the English verb particle *over*.

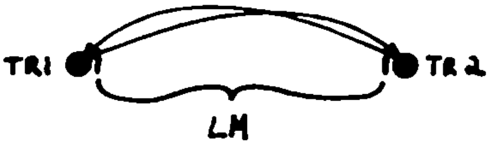
6.1 AN OVERVIEW OF THE NETWORK AND CONFIGURATIONS OF PERE-

Figure 11: The Configurations of PERE-

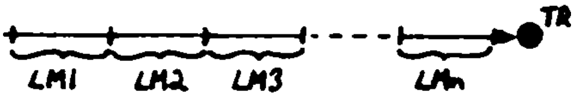




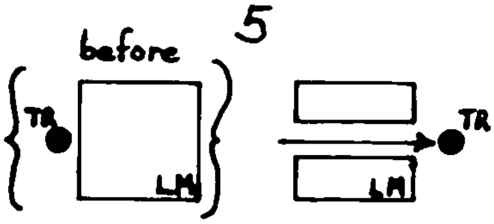
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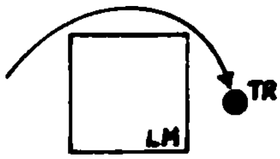
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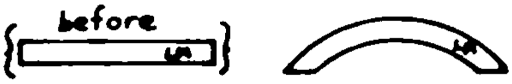
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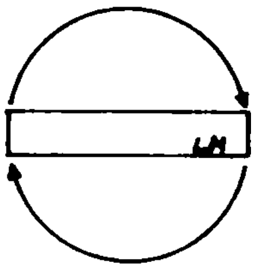
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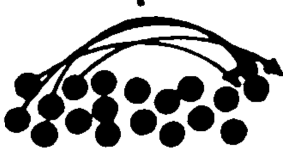
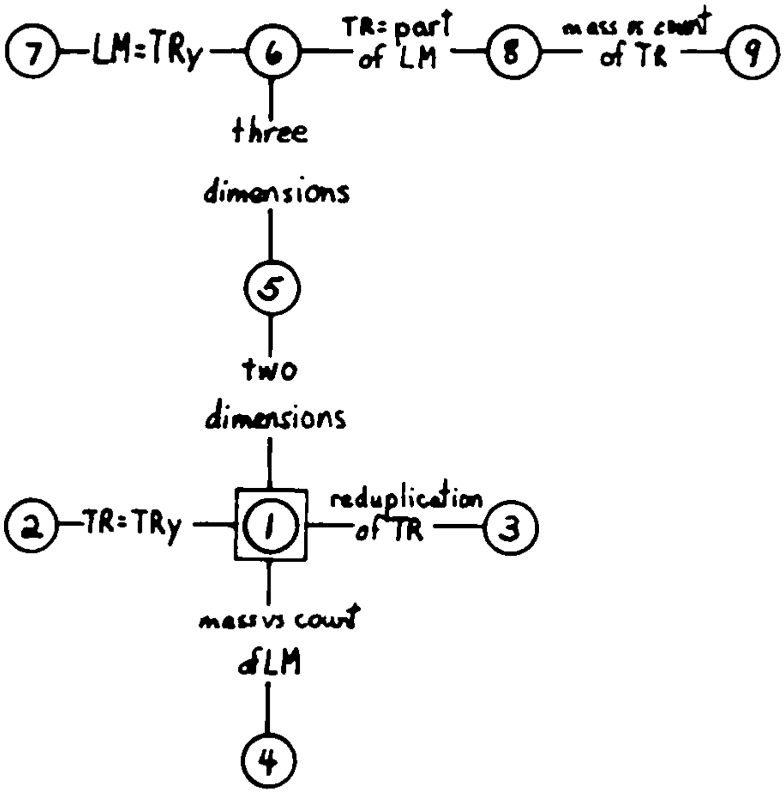


Figure 12: The Network of PERE-



Like those of *za-*, the configurations of *pere-* have their own family tree, the root of which is numbered 1. In this one-dimensional configuration, which is associated with the submeanings <transfer>, <duration>, <thorough>, <superiority>, <excess>, and <redo>, the trajector traverses the length of the landmark, a stretch of unidimensional cognitive space which may refer to physical distance, time, an object or an act. The same transformation that separates configurations 1 and 3 of *za-* is responsible for the difference between configurations 1 and 2 in this network: the trajector is

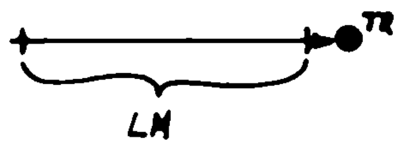
identified with the trajectory, and therefore realized as a continuous object, which in this case bridges the landmark (hence the caption <bridge> for this configuration). In addition to configuration 2, configurations 3, 4, and 5 are directly related to configuration 1. Reduplication of the trajector in configuration 1 results in mirror-image twin trajectors moving in opposite directions across the landmark, as in configuration 3, which is associated with the submeaning <interchange>. If a transformation is performed instead on the landmark, dividing it into a series of landmarks rather than a single one, the resulting configuration is 4 (<seriatim>). Configuration 5 is derived by increasing the dimensionality of the landmark, which is thus transformed into a two-dimensional figure which the trajector bisects in the submeaning <division>. Configuration 5 in turn engenders configuration 6 by a further expansion of dimensionality. In configuration 6 (<over>), the landmark is a three-dimensional object which must be vaulted. When the landmark and trajectory of this configuration are identified with each other, the product is an object bent into the shape of the trajectory, as seen in configuration 7 (<bend>). Returning to configuration 6, if the trajector is identified with one edge of the landmark, that edge will trace the trajectory, casing the landmark to flip over, and thus is configuration 8 (<turn over>) produced. If this landmark is subsequently disintegrated into a group of objects, then the objects on one end (where LM = part of TR) will be shuffled in among the remaning objects, which is what we see in configuration 9 (<mix>).

If we compare *pere*'s network with that of *za-*, we notice that all of the transformations present in the latter appear in the former as well: 2 > 3 dimensions, mass versus count of trajector, and identification of the trajector with the trajectory. Already a pattern of links (further discussed in "On linkage") is emerging.

6.2 CONFIGURATION 1

Transfer, Duration, Thorough

Superiority, Excess, Redo



In this configuration, the landmark consists of two boundaries and an intervening one-dimensional space. The size of this cognitive space is context-dependent; when it refers to real space, it may be any measurable magnitude of distance. The trajector proceeds from one end-point of the landmark to the other.

Transfer

PATTERN A		POSSIBLE REFERENTS:
intrans subj -or- DO	= TR	beings, objects, focus of vision, sensations
PP -or- inc. in verb	= LM	distance, loyalty (i.e., metaphorical distance)

PATTERN B		POSSIBLE REFERENTS:
trans subj	= TR	beings
DO	= LM	distance, objects

Cognitive space indexes real distance between two points of reference in concrete instantiations of this submeaning. The trajector is physically transported across the intervening distance and arrives at the terminal boundary of the landmark. Concrete uses of this submeaning include familiar phrases such as *perejti* (*pere*-'walk') *ulicu* 'cross the street', *peresest'* (*pere*-'sit down') *na tramvaj* 'transfer to the tram' and *peredat'* (*pere*-'give') *sol'* 'pass the salt'.

85) Kak istinnyj mužčina, passažir otkazalsja ot pomošči i sam *perenes* (*pere*-'carry') v komnatu svoj tjaželyj čemodan, taščа

ego ne bez vidimogo naprjaženija, neskol'ko izognuvšis', kak nesut vedro, polnoe doverxu.

Like a real man, the passenger refused to let anyone help him and *carried* his heavy suitcase into the room himself, dragging it with noticeable strain, bent over the way people are when they carry a full bucket.

86) Ne uspela ja prizemlit'sja i zarulit' samolet na mesto zapravki, kak podošla Beršanskaja. Ona prikazala nemedlenno *pereletet'* (*pere*-'fly') na druguju ploščadku, raspoložennuju vblizi kakogo-to zavoda.

I had just landed and was taxiing in to refuel when Beršanskaja came up to me. She ordered me *to fly* immediately to another airfield located near some factory.

The trajector need not be a physical object, such as a suitcase or a person, it may also represent things, such as the focus of a person's eyes or a sensation, which can be recognized as entities only in a metaphorical sense.

87) Ètogo šaga ždali ot nego vse prisutstvujuščie, v èti minuty traura vse smotreli na ženu načal'nika, a s nee *perevodili* (*pere*-'lead') vzor na nego.

Everyone present was expecting him to take that step and during those moments of mourning everyone looked at the boss's wife and then *transferred* their gaze from her to him.

88) Slaboe zdorov'e (načal'nik byl amputirovan vsledstvie gangreny ešče v molodyx godax i do six por stradal *peremežajuščimsja* (*pere*-'between'-reflex) onemeniem raznyx častej tela) ne pozvoljalo emu nepreryvno zanimat'sja delami.

His poor health (the boss had had an amputation because of gangrene when he was young and still suffered from numbness which *moved* from one part of his body to another) prevented him from working continuously.

89) Zanimajas' delami izo dnja v den' mnogo let, on ne mog ne sčitat' ix neobxodimymi, i èto oščuščenie neobxodimosti i suguboj pol'zy *peredavalos'* (*pere*-'give'-reflex) storonnemu zritelju.

Having worked every day for many years, he could not help but consider his work necessary, and this sense of necessity and great efficacy *was communicated* to the bystander.

Note that since the invention of radio and television the usage of *peredat' pere*-'give' ('pass' and 'communicate' in the examples above) has expanded to include 'transmit, broadcast'. The trajector in the above example is a feeling which the boss gives to others. In other contexts, however, the communication can involve infectious disease or messages.

<Transfer> can metaphorically refer to a change in associations or loyalty, as in when an employee is transferred from one office to another. Usually some relocation in physical space accompanies this

action and the notion of <transfer> is apparent on both the concrete and metaphorical levels.

90) Raskova provodila polk do frontovogo aerodroma i, *peredavaja* (*pere*-'give') ego v sostav 218-j nočnoj bombardirovočnoj divizii, na proščanie skazala: "Svoju predannost' Rodine vy dokazali v učebe, teper' dokažite ee v boju."

Raskova accompanied the regiment to the airport at the front and, *transferring* it to the 218th bombing division, she said in parting, "You have proven your devotion to the Motherland in your studies, now prove it in battle."

Duration

PATTERN A		POSSIBLE REFERENTS:
intrans subj	= TR	beings, objects,
instrumental NP -or- inc. in verb	= LM	durations

PATTERN B POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

trans subj	= TR	beings
DO	= LM	durations

In this submeaning, cognitive space refers to time and therefore the landmark is a period of time during which the trajector pursues a given activity. The trajectory represents the progress of the trajector in this activity through time. The activity usually involves waiting or killing time in some way.

There are three versions of this submeaning, differentiated by the kind of base verb involved. In the first type, the base verb directly names a period of time that must be waited out, for example *perezimovat' pere-*'winter' 'spend the winter'.

91) Odeta ona byla teplo, byl u nee xlebušek v meške -- tak čto *perenočevat'* (*pere-*'spend the night') na stupen'kax v obnimku s dušistym meškom tože ne očen'-to strašno, xotja i dolga osennjaja noč', liš' by doždja ne nagnalo.

She was warmly dressed and had some bread in her bag, so it would not be absolutely terrible *to spend the night* on the steps, clutching her fragrant bag, even though the autumn night would be long -- provided it did not rain.

The filler activity is named by base verbs of the second type, e.g., *perekurit'* *pere*-'smoke' 'smoke during a break', *perekusit'* *pere*-'bite' 'snack during a break', *perežďat'* *pere*-'wait' 'wait (for something to be over with)'. The duration is fixed by external circumstances and once it is completed, the trajector abandons the activity.

92) Kogda samolet prizemlilsja, vrag otkryl po nemu sil'nyj ogon'. Podrugi otpolzli v storonu, čtoby *perežďat'* (*pere*-'wait') obstrel.

When the airplane landed, the enemy opened fire on it. The girls crawled off to one side *to wait for* the firing *to finish*.

Base verbs of the third type name a state or activity which will eventually be brought to a close.

93) Točno tak že dajaki (Indonezija), *perebolev* (*pere*-'hurt') lixoradkoj ili drugoj tjaželoj bolezn'ju, vsjakij raz po vyzdorovlenii menjajut imja. Delaetsja èto, čtoby izbavit'sja ot svoej prežnej ličnosti, k kotoroj bolezn' uže uznala dorogu.

In the same way, dajaks (Indonesia), when they *have gotten over* a fever or other serious illness, always change their name after recovering. They do this in order to rid themselves of their former identity, which disease has already found its way to.

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In this example, as in the examples above, the trajector has no control over the duration, it cannot choose to stop being ill whenever it wants, cf. also *peregoret'* *pere*-'burn' 'stop burning' and *perebrodit'* *pere*-'ferment' 'stop fermenting'. There are two verbs for which the element "to stop" outweighs <duration>: *perestat'* *pere*-'become' 'stop (doing something)' and *prekratit'* *pere*-'shorten' 'cease'.

94) Ešče sejčas nekotorye plemena menjajut imja zabolevšemu rebenku. Skažem, bolen mal'čik Varanga. Ego tut že *perestajut* (*pere*-'become') nazyvat' ètim imenem, i on polučaet novoe -- Mauri.

Even today in some tribes people will change the name of a child who has fallen ill. Let's say that a boy named Varanga is ill. They will immediately *stop* calling him by this name and he will get a new one -- Mauri.

Thorough

PATTERN A		POSSIBLE REFERENTS:
intrans subj	= TR	beings, objects
inc. in verb	= LM	conditions (of beings or objects)

PATTERN B POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

trans subj	= TR	beings
DO	= LM	beings, objects, their conditions

This submeaning is very similar to <duration> in that the trajectory is the activity line of the trajector. The landmark, however, refers to some object, all of which is subjected to the action of the trajector.

95) B pole stojala neprolaznaja grjaz'. I kogda Katja vdrug poskol'znulas' i upala, to *peremazalas'* (*pere-*'smear'-reflex) osnovatel'no.

The field was covered with unnavigable mud. When Katja suddenly slipped and fell, she *got herself completely dirty*.

Katja is the trajector in this example, and the cleanliness of her body, which becomes smeared with mud from head to toe, is the landmark.

96) V kabinete sidel v kresle passažir, vse jaščiki pis'mennogo stola byli vydvinuty, on razvjazyval papki, *perelistyval* (*pere-*'leaf') tolstye učetnye knigi.

The passenger sat in the armchair in the office, all of the desk-drawers were pulled out, and he was opening the files and *leafing through* the thick accounting books.

The covers of a book define the endpoints of a landmark subjected to page-turning.

This submeaning also has metaphorical applications in which the landmark is a condition which is thoroughly affected: *perezjabnut' pere-*'feel cold' 'get chilled through', *peremoknut' pere-*'get wet' 'get drenched', *perepugat' pere-*'scare' 'scare completely', *perevolnovat' pere-*'upset' 'upset completely', *peretrusit' pere-*'be a coward' 'become altogether cowardly'. These verbs, all of which are colloquialisms, are relegated to a separate submeaning, "*intensivno soveršit' dejstvie, nazvannoe motivirujuščim glagolom*" 'intensive completion of the action named by the motivating verb', in the Academy Grammar. Again, as was seen above in the subsection on *za-*, the compilers of the Academy Grammar identified a coincidental element ("intensity") in the semantic make-up of a group of verbs as a feature essential for their classification. These verbs are, however, clearly examples of the <thorough> submeaning, which, as will be shown below, is a member of the *pere-* network.

Superiority

PATTERN B		POSSIBLE REFERENTS:
trans subj	= TR	beings, personified objects
DO	= LM	performers or performances of actions, deadlines

The landmark in this submeaning is usually a given performance or performer of an activity. It acts as a quantitative scale against which the activity of the trajector is measured. This scale may be either of intensity or of duration. Since the trajector crosses the endpoint of the landmark, it exceeds the performance referenced by the landmark. Verbs in this submeaning compare the trajector's performance with that of another agent, cf. *perekričat' pere-*'shout' 'outshout', *perepljasat' pere-*'dance' 'outdance', *perexitrit' pere-*'be cunning' 'outsmart'.

97) Derevenskaja literatura *perežila* (*pere-*'live') svoj rascvet i daže svoj zakat.

Country literature has *outlived* its flowering and even its decline.

98) Ešče v Kievskoj Rusi, čtoby zastavit' gostja vypit' kak možno bol'še, ego vyzyvali na svoeobraznoe sostjazanie -- kto kogo *perep'et* (*pere-*'drink').

Even in the Kievan period, in order to force a guest to drink as much as possible, they used to challenge him to participate in a competition to see who *could outdrink* whom.

In the first example, the landmark is the period in which a certain style of literature was undergoing interesting development and was esthetically valid. Writers did not, however, abandon it when it lost its momentum or even when the possibilities it offered had been

exhausted. Instead, they continued to write "country" literature, perpetuating it beyond the bounds which it deserved. The second example is more typical of this submeaning; it compares the performance of a victor (trajector) with that of his competitor (landmark).

Excess

PATTERN A		POSSIBLE REFERENTS:
intrans subj -or- DO	= TR	food, animals, people (objects needing preparation or maintenance)
inc. in verb	= LM	acts (normative completion of action named in simplex)

<Excess> is identical to <superiority> except for the fact that the performance which the landmark refers to is an ideal, canonical, or prescribed performance rather than a specific performance of an agent. Because the trajector oversteps this limit, the action described by verbs in this submeaning is evaluated as excessive.

Base verbs which denote actions connected with food preparation are typical components of examples of this submeaning. The proper completion of an action (landmark) is dictated by recipe, instructions, or common practice. Any action applied in excess can produce undesirable results, cf. *peresolit' pere-*'salt' 'oversalt', *pereparit' pere-*'steam' 'oversteam'.

99) Kak tol'ko obed, zavtrak ili užin budet gotov, ego nado totčas že podavat' na stol, inače on ostynet, poterjaet vkus, otdel'nye bljuda mogut okazat'sja *perevarennymi* (*pere*-'boil') ili *perežarennymi* (*pere*-'fry').

As soon as a lunch, breakfast, or dinner is ready, it should be put on the table right away. Otherwise it will get cold, lose its flavor, and certain dishes might become *overboiled* or *overfried*.

100) *Perezrelye* (*pere*-'ripen') i poterjavšie tverdost' plody raspolzajutsja pri rezke i mnutsja pri sortirovke.

Overripened fruit which has lost its firmness falls apart when it is cut and gets squashed when it is sorted.

101) Pri okurivanii neobxodimo pomnit', čto lučše nedookurit', čem *pereokurit'* (*pere*-'sulfurate') potomu, čto sil'noe okurivanie seroj pridaet plodam i ovoščam neskol'ko neprijatnyj zapax, gor'kovatyj privkus i neprijatnyj melovoj cvet.

When sulfurating one must remember that it is better to undersulfurate than *to oversulfurate*, because strong sulfuration gives fruits and vegetables a rather unpleasant smell, bitter aftertaste, and unpleasant, chalky color.

Inanimate objects other than food can also be subjected to excess treatment (cf. *perekraxmalit' pere*-'starch' 'overstarch', *perevertet'*

pere-'twist' 'turn too far'), as well as animals (*peredoit' pere*-'milk' 'overmilk', *perepoit' pere*-'give to drink' 'overwater') and people (*perelečit' pere*-'cure' 'overcure', *perexodit' pere*-'walk' 'carry a child too long in the womb').

102) -- Počemu očistit'? -- sprosil on gromko. -- Čto očistit'? -- Gostinica *perepolnena* (*pere*-'fill'). Vam pridetsja očistit' mesto.

"Why should I clear out?" he asked loudly. "What should I clear out?"

"The hotel *is too full*. You have to clear out."

In this example, the amount of filling designated by the landmark is directly determined by the size of the hotel. <Excess> causes overflow, as this unfortunate individual was forced to realize.

103) Nastojaščie synov'ja i dočeri pozabotjatsja o tom, čtoby ix mat' ne *pereutomljalas'* (*pere*-'exhaust'-reflex), čtoby u nee ostavalos' vremja dlja otdyxa, kotoryj ona zasluživaet bol'še vsex drugix členov sem'i.

Proper sons and daughters will ensure that their mother *does not get overtired* and that she has the time to rest, which she deserves more than all other members of the family.

104) Xorošo vovremja poest' dosyta (no ne *peregružajas'* (*pere*-'load'-reflex)) -- važno dlja zdorov'ja, vašej rabotosposobnosti.

It is important for your health and working capacity to eat well, regularly, and to satiety (but not *to overload yourself*).

105) Možno sčitat', čto i Dobrynin, posol SSSR v SŠA, tože *peresidel* (*pere*-'sit') v Vašingtone?

Could one also say that Dobrynin, the Soviet ambassador to the USA, *has been sitting around too long* in Washington?

The landmark in these examples is not a prescribed quantity, but rather an ideal or norm applied to the given activity. The norm involved may be one imposed by society as well, as in *peremudrit' pere*-'be clever' 'be too clever', *peremodničat' pere*-'be fashionable' 'be too fashion-conscious', *perestarat'sja pere*-'try'-reflex 'try too hard'.

Verbs in this submeaning can be used metaphorically, as in the ironic example below.

106) Kompanii żabili trevogu. Nužno bylo ubedit' ženščin, čto im sleduet nosit' šljapy. Po zakazu šljapnyx magnatov kompozitory i poėty sočinili dve pesenki, kotorye v tečenie mnogix nedel' bukval'no "viseli" v ėfire. Tekst ėtix pesenok ne byl *peregružen* (*pere*-'load') bol'šim filosofskim soderžaniem.

The companies sounded the alarm. It was necessary to convince women that it was becoming to them to wear hats. Under orders from the hat magnates, composers and poets wrote two songs which for many weeks literally "hung" in the air. The lyrics of

these songs was not *overburdened* with great philosophical content.

Redo

PATTERN B — POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

trans subj	= TR	beings
DO	= LM	products of completed acts (objects, plans, ideas)

The landmark of the <redo> submeaning refers to the product of a completed act. In this case, a previously executed act is repeated. The original results of the act either are insufficient or have become defective with time. The trajector traces the path of this action and goes a bit beyond it, making corrections and changes. The product of the action (landmark) is either repaired or changed fundamentally.[21] In the latter instance, there is some overlap with <thorough>; both signal the methodical application of action to the whole landmark.

107) Passažir s gordost'ju proiznes svoju familiju. K nesčast'ju, xrap brodjagi zaglušil ego golos, i oni ne sumeli kak sleduet rasslyšat'. *Peresprašivat'* (*pere*-'ask') bylo neudobno.

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[21] This interpretation is modeled after that of *pere*- <repetition> in Flier 1984.

The passenger proudly pronounced his surname. Unfortunately, the tramp's snoring drowned out his voice and they could not make it out properly. It would have been awkward *to ask again*.

108) Dyr pribavitsja, pridetsja ploskosti *peretjagivat'* (*pere*-'pull'), a togda nasidimsja bez dela.

There will be more holes and the wings will have *to be recovered*, and then we will be sitting around with nothing to do.

In both of these examples a secondary force (snoring, enemy bullets) has rendered the landmark (pronunciation, wing covering) inadequate and a *pere-* prefixed verb is used to describe the requisite remedy.

109) Kogda francuzskaja koroleva Marija Antuanetta, ožidaja naslednika, stala nosit' širokie narjady, skradyvavšie ee figuru, vsja Francija vdrug napolnilas' "beremennymi" ženščinami. Vygljadet' "beremennoj" stalo modno. Sročno rasparyvalis' i *perešivalis'* (*pere*-'sew'-reflex) jubki i pljat'ja.

When the queen of France, Marie Antionette, was expecting an heir and started wearing loose apparel which hid her figure, all of France was suddenly filled with "pregnant" women. Skirts and dresses were immediately ripped apart and *resewn*.

The evaluation made of the clothing in this example is purely subjective and the *pere-* prefixed verb enacts more than a repair; it actually transforms the garments, changing their basic appearance. This element of transformation is common to many <redo> verbs, e.g. *peredumat' pere-*'think' 'change one's mind', *perelit' pere-*'pour' 're-cast (a metal object)'.

110) -- A kogo vy bol'še ljubite -- grekov ili turok? -- sprosila drugaja. Bespredmetnyj i tomitel'nyj dlja vsex razgovor prodolžalsja ešče kakoe-to vremja, poka Čexov sam ne *perestroil* (*pere-*'build') ego, zavedja reč' o veščax bolee prostyx i blizkix ego sobesednicam. -- Ja ljublju marmelad.

"But who do you like better, the Greeks or the Turks?" another asked. This abstract conversation which everyone found wearisome continued for some time until Čexov himself *restructured* it, directing the discussion to things simpler and closer to his interlocutors. "I like marmalade."

111) Prismotrevšis' k dejstvijam našix nočnikov, gitlerovcy *perestroili* (*pere-*'build') svoju sistemu protivovozdušnoj oborony.

After taking a close look at what our night-flyers were doing, the hitlerites *restructured* their system of anti-aircraft defense.

In the verb *pererabotat' pere-*'work' 'rework' the notion of transformation is so pronounced that a previous action may be inferred only indirectly; in the example below it may be nothing more than the "work" already performed by nature.

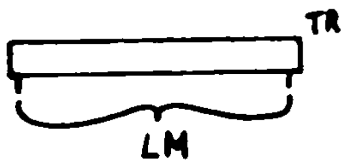
112) Takim obrazom prinjataja zavodom pestraja smes' različnyx po razmeru, cvetu i kačestvu, k tomu že zagrjaznennyx, plodov *pererabatyvaetsja* (*pere*-'work'-reflex) v standartnyj produkt vysokogo sorta.

Thus the motley mixture of fruits, which are of various size, color, and quality, and some of which are dirty as well, received at the factory *is reworked* into standard high-grade produce.

In addition to the obvious ties these verbs have to the <redo> submeaning, they are also motivated by a metaphorical extension of <transfer> (in which cognitive space separates two states rather than two locations) and of <turn> (see below).

6.3 CONFIGURATION 2

Bridge



Bridge

PATTERN A POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

DO	= TR	boards, bridges (real or figurative)
PP	= LM	gaps of space or time

In this configuration, the trajector and trajectory are one, forming a solid object which spans the cognitive space between the endpoints of the landmark. The trajector progresses, extending itself across a gap, and leaving a solid path. Cognitive space may refer either to space or to time, as in the examples below.

113) Dlja vzleta služila nebol'šaja ploščadka, okružennaja s trex storon glubokimi kanavami. Čtoby možno bylo vykatit' samolety na vzletnuju ploščadku, čerez kanavy prišlos' *perekinut'* (*pere*-'throw') mostki.

A small field, surrounded on three sides by deep ditches, served as a runway. Platforms had *to be placed* across the ditches so that the planes could be rolled out onto the runway.

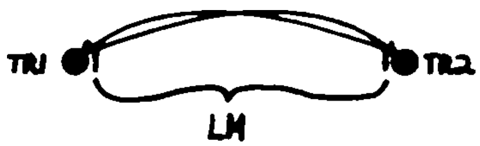
114) *Perekinut'* (*pere*-'throw') mostik v buduščee ne udaetsja -- prosto nekuda.

One cannot *put down* a bridge into the future -- it just does not have anywhere to go.

This submeaning may be considered a variant of <across> in which the advancing edge of the bridge is the trajector. <Bridge> is a minor submeaning, very dependent on context. The verb used in both of the above examples, *perekinut'*, is, in most instances, a member of the <across> submeaning, meaning 'throw over'. It requires the specification of an object spanning the landmark to express <bridge>.

6.4 CONFIGURATION 3

Interchange



Interchange

PATTERN A		POSSIBLE REFERENTS:
intrans subjs	= TRs	beings
(intervening space)	= LM	distance

As in configuration 1, the landmark is a gap in cognitive space. The trajector is reduplicated, causing the verbal action to be volleyed back and forth across the landmark. The reciprocity of the

trajectories is marked on all verbs of this submeaning by the reflexive particle *-sja*. The exchange of actions depicted in configuration 3 is a minimal unit which is repeated, as the cooccurrence of the iterative suffix *-ivaj-* with this submeaning indicates. <Interchange> is used most frequently with verbs denoting communication, as in the familiar example *perepisyvat'sja* *pere-*'write'-reflex 'correspond'.

115) Vse byli čeresčur vozbuždeny, ležali s otkrytymi glazami i libo tixon'ko *peregovarivalis'* (*pere-*'talk'-reflex), libo molča predavalis' svoim dumam.

They were all overexcited, lying with their eyes open and either quietly *conversing* or silently mulling over their thoughts.

116) Ljudi v sele ešče ne spali i smotreli, navernoe, televizory. V vetrenom šume *perelaivalis'* (*pere-*'bark'-reflex) sobaki.

The people in the village were not asleep yet and were probably watching television. In the roar of the wind the dogs *barked at each other*.

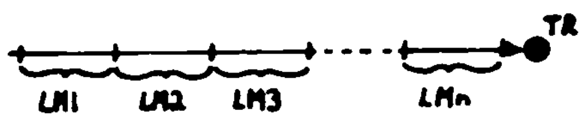
It may at first glance appear odd that this submeaning is restricted to imperfective aspect. The semantics of <interchange> are compatible only with iterative actions and are therefore excluded from the perfective. A single exchange of letters cannot be termed correspondence unless there is a strong intention to continue. Likewise, if two actors appeared on stage and each pronounced a

single line and then exited, we would be hard put to characterize their performance as a conversation. There are few actions of which a single exchange constitutes a realistic and potentially useful unit. Conceivably a single exchange of greetings could constitute a perfective version of <interchange>. *Pozdorovat'sja po-*'greet'-reflex 'exchange greetings', however, already fills this slot and *perezdorovat'sja pere-*'greet'-reflex 'exchange greetings (with all in a series)' is an example of <seriatim> rather than <interchange>.

There is really no need to search for the "missing partners" of the <interchange> verbs, since their aspectual paradigm is inherently defective. These verbs are not derived imperfectives, but rather iteratives formed directly from base verbs by the addition of both prefix and suffix (and particle) at once. This unusual formation is motivated by the objective reality of actions which are similar in process to those associated with *pere-* yet inherently iterative.

6.5 CONFIGURATION 4

Seriatim



Seriatim

PATTERN B POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

trans subj	= TR	beings (usually human)
DO	= LM	beings, objects

Configuration 4 differs from configuration 1 only in that the landmark is multiplied a finite number of times. The set (LM1, LM2,...LMn) represents all of a series of objects, each of which is subjected to the action of the verb. The landmarks are dealt with one after the other and these separate units are summed up as one large landmark, all of which has been affected. The <seriatim> submeaning is closely related to <thorough>; here the landmark is a group of objects rather than a single mass.

117) Objasni ty mne, Maša, požalujsta, počemu u vas noč'ju predmety padajut? Vy vsex v dome tak *perebudite* (*pere*-'waken').

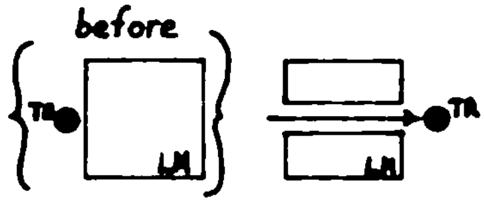
Please explain to me, Maša, why do objects fall in your place at night? You *will wake up* everybody in the building that way.

118) U nas somy -- vot takie! Kak krokodilov *perebili* (*pere*-'beat'), tak i somy pošli.

The sheatfish here are this big! When the crocodiles *were killed off* the sheatfish population really took off.

6.6 CONFIGURATION 5

Division



Division

PATTERN B — POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

trans subj	= TR	beings, cutting tools
DO	= LM	objects, bodies, spaces, lines, activity lines

When configuration 1 is extended to two dimensions, the landmark is transformed from a one-dimensional line to an object, which the trajector cuts across. Since the landmark is two-dimensional, but the trajectory is merely a line, the trajectory makes a one-dimensional cross section of the landmark. Landmarks which occupy real space are, of course, actually three-dimensional, although they are treated like two-dimensional objects in the <division> submeaning. Most of the base verbs that combine with *pere-* in this submeaning denote cutting, although other types of division are possible, cf. *peregryzt' pere-*'gnaw' 'gnaw in two', *perekusit' pere-*'bite' 'bite in two', *perepilit' pere-*'saw' 'saw in two', *pererubit' pere-*'chop' 'chop in two'

but *pereteret'* *pere*-'rub' (*verevku*) 'divide (a string) in two by rubbing', and *peregorodit'* *pere*-'fence' 'divide (with a wall)' (note the similarity between this example and the <bridge> submeaning).

119) -- A čto že vy ne slušaete?

-- A ničego ne slyšno, čego slušat'-to.

-- Počemu ne slyšno?

-- A my provoda *pererezali* (*pere*-'cut').

"Why can't you hear anything?"

"We can't hear anything, what's to hear."

"Why can't you hear?"

"We *cut* the wire.

120) *Perelomit'* (*pere*-'break') xleb...

To *break* bread...

121) Rodstvenniki nav'jučili na nego ogromnyj, tjaželennyj rjukzak s varen'em. Xaligalija tut čut' ne lišilas' svoego lučšego druga, ibo mešok edva ne *perelomil* (*pere*-'break') konsul'tanta popolam.

His relatives loaded him with a huge, heavy knapsack full of jam. At that point Xaligalija almost lost its best friend, for the bag almost *broke* the consultant in half.

In the first of the above examples there is clearly a trajector (presumably clippers) which is dividing the landmark (telephone

wire). The trajectories of the two instances of *perelomit' pere-*'break' 'break' can be identified only metaphorically as some "breaking activity" which is cutting across the landmark. Alternatively, it might be equally appropriate to consider *perelomit'* an instance of <bend> (see below) in which the landmark is relatively brittle.

Metaphorically, <division> may refer merely to travel rather than to the actual bisecting of the landmark, cf. English *cut across*, which means literally 'move across'. This metaphorical use of <division> overlaps with the <across> submeaning.

122) I vot my v vozduxe. *Peresekaem* (*pere-*'cut') liniju fronta, proxodjaščuju po reke Mius.

And then we were in the air. We *cut across* the front line which followed the Mius river.

The reflexive particle *-sja* adds reciprocity to the semantics of *peresekat' pere-*'cut' 'cut across', generating *peresekat'sja pere-*'cut'-reflex 'intersect'.

123) Sfery populjarnosti počti ne *peresekajutsja* (*pere-*'cut'-reflex). Možno ešče predstavit' čeloveka, gorjačo ljubjaščego i Abramova, i Maksimova.

Spheres of popularity almost never *intersect*. One can still imagine that a man might ardently love both Abramov and Maksimov.

By metaphorical extension, the landmark may be identified as as ongoing activity, which the trajector intrudes on. If the landmark is the continuous verbal output of some individual, any violation of it by another agent could be described by the verb *perebit' pere-*'beat' 'interrupt' (cf. Eng. *cut in on someone, cut someone off*).

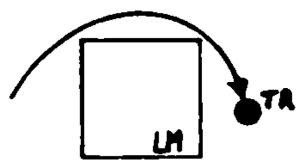
124) Razgovarivaja ili sporja s kem-nibud', vy vsegda vyslušaete sobesednika do konca, ne stanete ego *perebivat'* (*pere-*'beat'), povyšat' golos, ne dopustite grubyx slov ili žestov.

When conversing or arguing with someone, always hear your interlocutor out, don't start *interrupting* him and raising your voice and don't use any coarse words or gestures.

Although <division> does not have a large repertoire of base verbs, it is a well-established submeaning, as the metaphorical uses indicate. It is interesting to note the close correspondence in metaphorical extensions of <division>/*cut* between Russian and English.

6.7 CONFIGURATION 6

Over



PATTERN B POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

trans subj	= TR	beings
DO	= LM	objects with vertical dimension, thresholds, bounds

When Configuration 5 <division> is further extended to three dimensions, the trajector no longer has to cut through the landmark in order to reach the other side; liberated from the two-dimensional plane, the trajector can leapfrog over the landmark. The landmark is a solid object, of which we see only a cross section in the configuration.

125) Samolet kačnulo, i on jurknul vniz, slovno provalilsja v jamu. Pravda, vskore Duse udalos' vyrovnjat' mašinu. No moščnye nisxodjaščie potoki vozduxa neumolimo prižimali malen'kij U-2 k zemle. Stalo jasno, čto teper' *pereskočit'* (*pere*-'leap') gornuju grjadu ne udaetsja.

The plane pitched and then whizzed downward as if it had fallen into a pit. Dusja soon managed to level it out, but the powerful downdrafts inexorably pressed the little U-2 to the ground. It became clear that we would not be able *to leap over* the mountain ridge.

126) Končilas' učeba, načinaetsja boevaja strada. My *perešagnuli* (*pere*-'step') porog vojny. Tak zakončilsja ešče odin period v moej letnoj biografii i načalsja drugoj, boevoj.

Our studies were over, the harvest of combat was beginning. We *crossed* the threshold of war. Thus yet another episode in my flying history came to an end and a new one began, one of combat.

The only difference between <over> and <across> lies in the fact that <over>'s landmark is a barrier rather than just a space. Since the trajectory of <over> overcomes this barrier by utilizing the third dimension, the base verbs of necessity signal movement that specifies a vertical component, such as flying (*pereletet' pere*-'fly' 'fly over'), jumping (*pereskočit' pere*-'leap' 'jump over'), stepping (*perestupit' pere*-'step' 'step over'), and climbing (*perelezt' pere*-'climb' 'climb over'). The barrier need not be physical; note the metaphorical extension of *perestupit' pere*-'step' 'commit a crime', in which the landmark refers to a law (cf. Eng. *overstep the bounds of society*). Verbs denoting horizontal movement in contact with some surface, such as walking (*perejti pere*-'walk' 'walk across') and sailing (*pereplyt' pere*-'sail' 'sail across') likewise must be relegated to the <across> submeaning since their trajectors are free to move only in two dimensions.

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6.8 CONFIGURATION 7

Bend



Bend

PATTERN A POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

intrans subj -or- DO	= TR (/LM)	flexible objects: bodies, paper, sticks

Configuration 7 is derived directly from Configuration 6 by the identification of the landmark with the trajectory. The landmark bends, conforming to the shape of the trajectory of <over>.

127) Znaeš', tolstuju bumagu peregibaj tak i ètak. I sto raz peregneš'. Ona vse deržit'sja, a *peregneš'* (*pere*-'bend') sto pervyj raz, i ona razojdetsja. L. Tolstoj, AD 9:514.

You know, you (can) *fold* a thick piece of paper this way and that. You *fold* it a hundred times even. It still holds together, but you *fold* it for the hundred and first time and it falls apart.

128) Koška podnimaetsja, vytjagivaet xvost, *peregibaet* (*pere*-'bend') spinu i žmuritsja. Čex., AD 9:515.

The cat gets up, stretches out its tail, *hunches up* its back and scrunches up its eyes.

129) Kim, *peregnuvšis'* (*pere*-'bend') čerez stol, čto-to delal s ego šeej, čto-to uminal i massiroval, rastopyriv lokti.

Kim, *bending* over the table, did something with his neck, squeezed and massaged something, sticking his elbows out.

This last example is arguably multiply motivated. In addition to <bend>, Kim's action exemplifies <transfer> since he has spanned the width of the table.

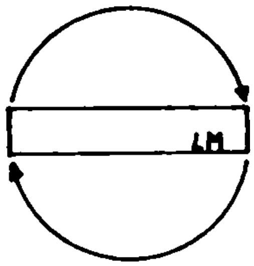
The expression *peregnut'* (*pere*-'bend') *palku* 'go too far' (lit. overbend the stick) combines the submeaning <bend> with that of <excess>.

130) My proizvedem obyski i rekviziruem u škuroderov vse tovary. Dopustit', čtoby rabočie dal'še golodali, my ne možem. Tovarišč Ignat'eva predupreždaet, čtoby my ne *peregnuli* (*pere*-'bend') palku. Èto, ja skažu, u nee intelligentskaja mjagkotelost'. N. Ostr., AD 9:515

We will conduct searches and requisition all the goods of those who are hoarding them. We cannot let the workers starve any longer. Comrade Ignat'eva warns us not *to go too far*. I say that this evidences in her the spinelessness of the intelligentsia.

6.9 CONFIGURATION 8

Turn over



Turn over

PATTERN A		POSSIBLE REFERENTS:
intrans subj		
-or-	= TR	bodies, objects,
DO	(/LM)	established order

Like that of configuration 6, the landmark here is a solid object (relative length versus width of the landmark are irrelevant to the configurations and are determined by context). Instead of having a separate existence, the trajector is identified with the landmark, or more precisely, with one end of the landmark. The trajectory traced by the end of the landmark is the same as that of the trajector in configuration 6 and it causes the solid object to turn about its own axis, flipping over. The opposite end of the landmark is forced to reciprocate the action. <Turn over> is a minor submeaning limited to base verbs which already denote 'turn'.

131) Okolo ust'ja reki voda slovno zakipela. Tysjači malen'kix fontanov podnimalis' nad nej. Ryby vyprygivali, *perevertyvajas'* (*pere*-'turn'-reflex) v vozduxe.

Near the mouth of the river the water literally began to boil. Above it rose thousands of little fountains. Fish leapt up, *flipping over* in the air.

132) Pri posadke U-2 zacepilsja kolesami za električeskie provoda, *perevernulsja* (*pere*-'turn'-reflex) v vozduxe i upal na zemlju.

While landing the wheels of the U-2 got caught on the electrical wires and it *flipped over* in the air and fell to the ground.

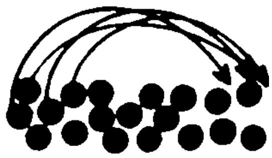
The landmark of <turn over> can also refer metaphorically to a way of life, as in the example below.

133) No imenno v ètot den' proizošlo sobytie, kotoroe v odno mgnovenie *perevernulo* (*pere*-'turn') ustojavšujusja žizn' polustanka: udaril kolokol -- načal'nik, kotoryj s utra ne vyšel na rabotu, skončalsja.

That very day an event occured which instantly *upset* (lit. 'turned over') the stagnant life of the railway station. The bell rang -- the boss, who had not gone to work that morning, had died.

6.10 CONFIGURATION 9

Mix



Mix

PATTERN A		POSSIBLE REFERENTS:
intrans subj		
-or-	= TR	groups of objects: chopped
DO	(/LM)	food, fibers, letters

Configuration 9 is directly related to configuration 8, of which it is a degenerate version. Rather than a single solid object, the landmark is a number of objects (cf. the difference between the <cover> and <splatter> configurations of *za-*). The objects behave like the edge of the landmark of configuration 8, tracing the trajectory and thereby becoming shuffled or mixed up.

134) Čtoby uderžat' ix, narezannye koren'ja i luk kladut na razogretuju s nebol'šim količestvom žira skovorodu, xorošo *peremešivajut* (*pere-*'mix') i slegka podžarivajut do obrazovanija svetloj plenki, no ne dopuskaja pojavlenija na nix temnoj okraski.

In order to keep them, sliced spices and onion are placed in a heated frying pan with a small amount of fat, *mixed* well and lightly sauteed until transparent without allowing them to brown.

In a minimal case, the number of objects is only two and they are merely transposed.

135) V kakom že prestuplenii byl povinen d'jak Semen Sorokin? Neskol'ko dnej nazad, perepisyvaja donesenie senatu, on dopustil opisku. V slovax "Blažennyja dostojnyj pamjati Petr I" on *pereputal* (*pere*-'confuse') bukvi i napisal "Pert I." Naprasno kljalsja on, čto èto vsego liš' ošibka. Senat postanovil prigovorit' derzkogo d'jaka k pletjam.

What crime was the court scribe Semen Sorokin convicted of? A few days ago, while copying over a report for the senate, he made an error. In the words "Worthy of blessed memory, Petr I" he *mixed up* the letters and wrote "Pert I." In vain he swore that it was merely an error. The senate resolved to sentence the impertinent scribe to be whipped.

If the objects involved are fibers or strips, this type of mixing results in weaving or braiding, as in the verb *pereplesti* *pere*-'plait' 'interlace, interweave'.

Chapter VII

DO-

The semantic category signalled by the prefix *do-* is much less elaborate than those of *za-* and *pere-*. In all of its submeanings, *do-* focuses only on the last part of an action. The verbal action is measured against some scale.

7.1 AN OVERVIEW OF DO-

FIGURE 13: The Configurations of DO-

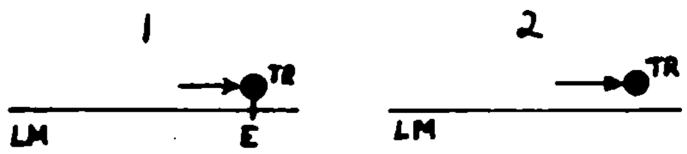


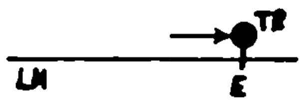
Figure 14: The Network of DO-



In both configurations of *do-* the landmark is a scale of the activity expressed by the base verb. They differ in the presence of an end point (E). In 1 (<reach>, <excess>) the end point figures as an important component of the configuration, whereas in 2 (<add>), the end point loses its salience, being absorbed as a part of the landmark.

7.2 CONFIGURATION 1

Reach, Excess



The landmark is a scale which measures the progress of the trajector (which is an action). The letter E stands for a particular point along this scale, the end point reached by the trajector.

Reach

PATTERN A		POSSIBLE REFERENTS:
intrans subj	= TR	beings
inc. in verb	= LM	traveling, waiting (activities in which progress is made)
PP	= E	places, times, things, (end points)

PATTERN B		POSSIBLE REFERENTS:
trans subj	= TR	beings
DO	= LM	things requiring attention
PP	= E	end

In this submeaning, the end point is an externally determined point which the trajector reaches. As in the example below, the landmark may be a scale of distance.

136) Gorjučego v bankax ostavalos' malo, i ja rešila nabrat' vysotu, čtoby v slučae čego *dotjanut'* (*do*-'pull') do berega na planirovanii.

There was not much fuel in the tanks and I decided to gain altitude so that if something happened I could *make it* to shore by gliding.

In this example the shore is the end point.

Cognitive space may represent time, in which case the end point is located on a temporal scale.

137) "Gospoda," obraščaja k "prostym ljudjam," nazyvali ix ne inače kak tol'ko po imeni. Sadovniki, slugi, švejcary i pročie podnevol'nye ljudi *doživali* (*do*-'live') do glubokoj starosti, prodolžaja ostavat'sja vsego liš' Ivanami i Vasilijami.

The "lords," when addressing "simple people," called them only by their first name. Gardeners, servants, porters and other laborers *lived* until advanced old age, remaining merely Ivans and Vasilijs.

138) "Čudesa," -- podumal passažir, kupil bilet, perevel časy u sebja na ruke i pošel *dosiživat'* (*do*-'sit') na obluplennoj skamejke neizvestno otkuda vzjavšiesja tridcat' minut.

"Wonderful," thought the passenger, and he bought a ticket, reset his wristwatch and went to *wait out* the thirty minutes that had appeared from nowhere on the chipped bench.

Intensity and creativity can also serve as the domains of the landmark in metaphorical uses of the <reach> submeaning.

139) Ideja pravdopodobija, načataja v načale 60-x Aksenovym, Balterom, Gladilinym, Efimovym, *došla* (*do*-'walk') do svoej kul'minacii - i odnovremenno krizisa -- u Trifonova. Načalis' poiski inyx putej.

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The idea of credibility, instigated in the early sixties by Aksenov, Balter, Gladilin, and Efimov, *reached* its culmination -- and at the same time its crisis -- in Trifonov. The search for other ways began.

140) Togdašnie obitateli Meksiki ne znali, naprimer, povozok, ne *dodumalis'* (*do*-'think') daže do kolesa. No im bylo uže isvestno o značenii slova, i ničto ne cenilos' u nix tak, kak umenie vesti besedu.

At that time Mexico's inhabitants did not know any vehicles, for example, they had not even *invented* (lit. *reached by thinking*) the wheel. But they already knew the great significance of words and valued nothing more than the ability to carry on conversation.

As in the examples above, the prefix *do-* cooccurs with the reflexive particle *-sja* in many <reach> verbs. In these verbs the notion of successful or satisfactory reaching of the end point is stressed. The contribution of *-sja* in these verbs is comparable to its contribution to verbs prefixed by *na-*, cf. *naest'sja na-*'eat'-reflex 'eat to satiety' and *napit'sja na-*'drink'-reflex 'drink to satiety'. The domain which the landmark finds itself in may be time, as in 141.

141) Raskova vyletala v Moskvu s dokladom. *Dožidajas'* (*do*-'wait') ee vozvrasčenija, my tščatel'no izučali maršrut predstojaščego bol'šogo i trudnogo pereleta.

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Raskova flew to Moscow with the report. While *awaiting* her return, we carefully studied the route of the long and difficult flight that lay ahead.

In the next three examples cognitive space refers to information reached in various manners.

142) -- Marinka, -- kriknula Kljueva, -- tak ved' oni svoix istrebitelej navodjat na nas. Potomu i zentčiki molčat, čtoby v svoix ne ugodit'! Ja i sama uže *dogadalas'* (*do*-'guess'-reflex) ob ètom.

"Marinka," shouted Kljueva, "they are sending their fighter planes after us. That is why the anti-aircraft guns are silent, so they will not hit their own men!" I had already *guessed* this myself.

143) -- A vot ty sama, kogo by ty mogia nazvat' geroem?
-- Nu, tak xotja by... -- Ženja zamjalas'.
-- Tak kogo že? -- *dopytyvalas'* (*do*-'ask'-reflex) Nataša.

"And what about you, what sort of person would you call a hero?"
"Well, gee, uh..." Ženja hesitated.
"Well, who?" Nataša *probed further*.

Dopytyvat'sja do-'ask'-reflex 'ask further' assumes that there is some information Nataša wants from Ženja, and that she keeps asking questions until she can elicit it.

The next example combines a measure of both information and agreement in the end point.

144) Naverno, Marija sčitaet, čto Kuz'ma uže u brata i obo vsem *dogovorilsja* (*do*-'talk'-reflex).

Surely Marija thinks that Kuz'ma is already at his brother's place and *has arranged everything* (lit. *made an agreement*).

In the absence of any more specific goal, cognitive space may simply refer to success and the end point may be a personal aim in the domain.

145) -- Nu-nu, vyše golovu, istrebitel'! -- laskovo požurila ona. -- Na proščanie skažu vam: kto očen' xočet, tot objazatel'no *dob'etsja* (*do*-'beat'-reflex)! Želaju uspexa.

"Hey, hold your head high, fighter!" she scolded affectionately. "In parting let me say that he who really wants something will certainly *get his way*! I wish you success."

When *do*- prefixed verbs are used in contexts without direct reference to a non-terminal end point, the end point is simply the end of the action.

146) Papirosy *dokurilis'* (*do*-'smoke'-reflex). Počti v odno vremja oni brosili ix sebe pod nogi i ešče pomolčali.

The cigarettes *were finished*. Almost in unison they threw them underfoot and remained silent for awhile.

147) Spasibo tebe, Mark Bernes, za prostuju pesenku. Ja ne *dosluša1a* (*do*-'listen') ee do konca, no to, čto slyšala, vošlo v menja i napolnilo serdce bol'šoj ljubov'ju.

Thank you, Mark Bernes, for the simple song. I *did* not *listen* to it to the end, but what I heard entered my heart and filled it with great love.

Excess

PATTERN A		POSSIBLE REFERENTS:
intrans subj	= TR	human beings, personified animals
inc. in verb	= LM	activities that are harmful if pursued carelessly
PP/inc. in verb	= E	undesirable state

A significant group of verbs identifies the landmark as a scale of the patient's tolerance for the activity named in the base verb. Point E is reached when, due to excessive performance of the verbal activity, the patient finds itself in an undesirable state or situation. This realization is sudden and unexpected, as if no attention is paid to the scale represented by the landmark until it is too late and E has

already been reached. The <excess> submeaning is strongly associated with the reflexive particle *-sja*, so for most verbs the patient and the subject are one and the same individual.

In some cases point E is a state of physical harm, as in the examples below.

148) Èto ty sebe nervy rasstroil. Govorila ja tebe: ne zanimajsja tak mnogo. Sidiš' po nočam, vot i *dosidelsja* (*do*-'sit'-reflex). Veres., AD 3:1019.

You have upset your nerves. I told you: do not study so much. You sit up all night and now you *have sat too much* (lit. *harmed yourself by sitting*).

149) --Pljaši. -- Rad by, da ne mogu, nogi ne služat. Bylo vremja, pljasival ja. Pljasal, pljasal, da i *dopljasalsja* (*do*-'dance'-reflex). Salt., AD 3:991.

"Dance!"
"I would like to , but I cannot: my legs cannot do it. There was a time when I used to dance. I danced and danced and *overdanced myself* (i.e., ruined my legs)."

Frequently, E is simply a difficult situation as defined by the context. Often the patient is in trouble with other members of his society who have formed a low opinion of him. This accounts for the high frequency in this submeaning of base verbs which denote

potentially annoying behavior, such as laughing (*dosmejat'sja* *do*-'laugh'-reflex 'laugh one's way to trouble', *doxixikat'sja* *do*-'giggle'-reflex 'giggle one's way to trouble', *doxoxotat'sja* *do*-'guffaw'-reflex 'guffaw one's way to trouble'), joking (*došutit'sja* *do*-'joke'-reflex 'joke one's way to trouble', *došalit'sja* *do*-'play tricks'-reflex 'get into trouble by playing tricks'), bragging (*doxvalit'sja* *do*-'praise'-reflex 'boast one's way to trouble', *doxvastat'sja* *do*-'brag'-reflex 'brag one's way to trouble', *doxoroxorit'sja* *do*-'swagger'-reflex 'swagger one's way to trouble'), and talking (*dotolkovat'sja* *do*-'talk'-reflex 'talk one's way to trouble', *doboltat'sja* *do*-'blabber'-reflex 'blabber one's way to trouble', *dofilosofstvovat'sja* *do*-'philosophize'-reflex 'philosophize one's way to trouble', *dospletničat'sja* *do*-'gossip'-reflex 'gossip one's way to trouble'). Because the <excess> submeaning of this verb requires the patient to wind up in some sort of trouble and usually to regret this fact, the patient must be animate. Within the category of animate patients, consultants report that human beings are strongly preferred since animals do not think and cannot therefore recognize and sorrow over their misfortunes (cf. the personification of the dragonfly in the example below).

This submeaning requires rather elaborate contexts which describe the trouble which the patient gets into. Given an <excess> verb, native consultants must construct very detailed narratives in order to give sufficiently motivated examples of how such a verb might be used. In response to the verb *dotancevat'sja* *do*-'dance'-reflex 'dance

one's way to trouble', my consultants conjured up the following scenarios:

1) A young woman went to a ball with her husband. A strange man asked her to dance. Instead of dancing with him just once and then returning to her husband, she dances with him many times, in spite of the obvious annoyance of her husband. There is probably some embarassing scene when her husband can no longer control his anger and now the whole town is talking about her shameless behavior.

2) An unmarried girl has gotten into the habit of flirting with soldiers at balls. She goes to as many balls as possible and dances with all the soldiers, often wandering off with them into the night as well. Suddenly she discovers that she is pregnant and before long everyone in town finds out about it, too. She is the subject of vicious gossip.

3) Aesop's fable about the cricket and the ant, translated into Russian as the dragonfly and the ant, serves as an appropriate backdrop. The lazy and foolish dragonfly danced all summer long, not bothering to prepare herself a winter home and stock it with provisions, despite the warnings of the diligent ant. When winter came and she was cold and hungry, she went to the ant to beg for food and shelter, but the ant, disgusted by her senseless behavior, refused her any assistance and left her to perish. (In this example it appears that it is the personification

of the insect characters that makes the *do-* <excess> verb applicable.)

The verb *dostreljat'sja* *do-*'shoot'-reflex 'shoot one's way to trouble' also elicited a complex environment for its possible use:

A trigger-happy hunter is in the habit of shooting everything that moves. One day, however, because of his carelessness, he acidentally shoots his favorite hunting dog.

Likewise, in examples of <excess> verbs found in literature, the *do-* prefixed verb serves as the culmination point of a story built up over the course of several or more paragraphs.

150) Obyčno v vozduxe, poka vse ostavalos' spokojnym, my so šturmanom peregovarivalis'. Ne znaju, možet, èto otvlekalo ot mračnyx myslej, a možet, prosto pomogalo korotat' vremja. V ètot raz Kljueva zatjanula naš gvardejskij marš, ja podxvatila. Tak my letetli, bespečno napevaja. I vdrug slux moj rezanul toroplivyj krik Ol'gi:

-- Marinka, bystree žmi vniz! Fašist dogonjaet.

Instinktivno pribavila gaz, otdala ručku ot sebja, i U-2, vzrevev motorom, ustremilsja k zemle. Nad nami razdalsja voj vraženskogo "messera," i tut že snarjady proporoli vozdux rjadom s pravoj ploskost'ju. Poka gitlerovskij letčik razvoračivalsja dlja sledujuščego zaxoda, ja izmenila kurs i snizilas' ešče. Fašist poterjal nas i, sdelav paru krugov, umčalsja otyskivat' druguju žertvu.

-- *Dopelis'* (*do*-'sing'-reflex) "artistki"! -- serdito brosila ja v peregovornyj apparat.

Usually when we were airborne and everything was going smoothly, I conversed with the navigator. I do not know why, maybe because it diverted our attention from gloomy thoughts or maybe just because it helped to kill time. That time Klujevaja struck up our Guards' march and I sang along. Thus we flew along, singing in a carefree way as we went. Suddenly Ol'ga's hurried shout struck my ears.

"Marinka, take it down fast! A fascist is going to catch up with us."

Instinctively I stepped on the gas, pressed the stick away from myself and the U-2, its motor roaring, headed for the ground. Above us resounded the roar of an enemy "messer," and just then shells rent the air next to our right wing. While the hitlerite pilot turned to make the next strike, I changed course and dropped altitude. The fascist lost us and, after circling about a couple of times, rushed away to find another victim.

"We 'songstresses' *sang our way into trouble*!" I angrily shouted into the speaking apparatus.

Bomber pilots must watch out for faster and more mobile emeny craft. Any activity which reduces their ability to concentrate on this fact, such as in this case singing, creates the potential for disaster. Here E is a state of careless diversion which a foe can take advantage of.

151) Četvero kazakov vedut menja na dopros. Zatylok, dva profilja... A zadnij -- predatel'. Za porciju kompota on skazal im, kde ja prjačus'. Vokrug rebjata. "Razbojnika pojmali!.. Razbojnika pojmali!.."
-- A vaša vožataja, -- govorju ja, -- fizkul'turnikom zažataja!
-- A tvoja vožataja -- zavxozom zažataja, -- govorit zatylok.
-- A ugadaj, čto segodnja na užin? -- sprašivaju ja.
-- Mannaja kaša, -- otvečaet zatylok.
-- Kaša mannaja, noč' tumannaja! -- vykrikivaju ja dovol'nyj tem, čto podlovil ego.
Rebjata zakatyvajutsja. Odin ot smexa padaet s dereva.
-- *Dosmeeš'sja* (*do*-'laugh'-reflex) ! -- zlo šepeljavit zatylok.

Four Cossacks led me to the interrogation. A back of a head, two profiles... And one in behind -- the betrayer. For one portion of compote he told them where I was hiding. People all around.
"They've caught the scoundrel!.. They've caught the scoundrel!.."
"Your lady leader," I said, "is in the embrace of a gymnast!"
"And your lady leader is in the embrace of a collective farm officer," said the back of the head.
"Guess what is for dinner today?" I asked.
"Hot cereal" answered the back of the head.

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"Hot cereal -- foggy night!" I cried out, satisfied by the fact that I had set him up.

The guys began to roll (with laughter). One laughed so hard that he fell out of a tree.

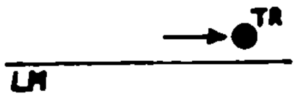
"You *will laugh your way to trouble*!" angrily hissed the back of the head.

This example comes from a story about a man whose joking and laughter anger the authorities, who decide to interrogate him. In this scene, as he is being led away, he continues to make jokes (the nonsensical lines about the lady leader and the hot cereal are amusing rhymes in Russian) for the bystanders and one of his escorts warns him that he will regret his light-hearted behavior if he keeps it up. Indeed he does keep it up and is as a result taken to the executioner's block.

Due to the specific type of contexts required to justify the use of the <excess> submeaning, it is much less frequent than the <reach> submeaning. It is, however, productive (cf. *dofilosovstvovat'sja* *do*-'philosophize'-reflex 'philosophize one's way to trouble'), particularly in colloquial speech.

7.3 CONFIGURATION 2

Add



Add

PATTERN A		POSSIBLE REFERENTS:
DO	= TR	spices, embellishmnets
PP	= LM	food, descriptions

Again the landmark is a scale which measures the trajector's progress in an activity. E is, however, absent, since in the contexts in which this submeaning is employed there is no specific canonical end point to the verbal action. The *do-* prefixed verb signals a small increment along the LM axis, and the trajectory is interpreted as an addition to the preexisting point of progress where the trajector was located. A typical example of this submeaning is *dosolit' do-*'salt' 'add some salt'. Since saltiness is a matter of personal preference, a cook may or may not add some as he chooses. The additions in the two following examples serve as metaphorical spices, or embellishments, of existing descriptions.

152) K tomu že *dobovljaem* (*do*-'add'), čto starik Močenkin dal synu v ruki vernuju professiju: naučil kastrirovat' jagnjat i porosjat, možno skazat', obespečil po grob žizni.

To this we *add* the fact that old Močenkin gave his son a reliable profession: he taught him how to castrate lambs and piglets, one could say that he provided for him unto the grave.

There is no canonical or predetermined limit specifying a set amount of description of the things that old Močenkin did for his son. Nor is there any realistic absolute terminus for this activity -- presumably the description could be (for human purposes) infinitely long. The author has already given a short list of favors done by Močenkin for his son and has decided to add just one more fact to his description.

153) Nastojaščie kolxoznye krest'jane nikak ne xoteli poxodit' na opernyx mužikov derevenskoj literatury. Èto ne značit, čto "derevenščiki" pisali nepravdu ili čast' pravdu skryli. Oni prosto nemnogo *dodumali* (*do*-'think') za sovremennoe rossijskoe krest'janstvo, vedomye blagorodnymi namerenijami i svetlym primerom Turgeneva.

Real peasants on collective farms did not at all want to simulate the operatic men of country literature. This does not mean that the "countryists" wrote untruths or that they hid part of the truth. They just *added* (*by thinking*) a little something to contemporary Russian peasantry, guided by noble ideals and by Turgenev's bright example.

This example likewise deals with description, which has no inherent nor externally prescribed limits.

The <add> submeaning is quite limited. *Dobavit' do-*'add' 'add' is the only verb that consistently and regularly instantiates <add>. With other base verbs, <add> is dependent on the absence of a limit in a given context.

Chapter VIII

OT-

8.1 AN OVERVIEW OF OT-

Like *do-*, *ot-* has only two configurations. Of the four prefixes examined in this dissertation, *ot-* is the only one for which more than one configuration has multiple submeanings.

Figure 15: The Configurations of OT-

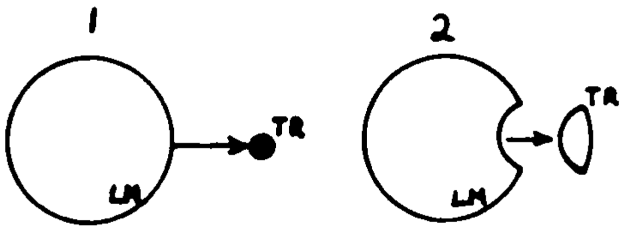
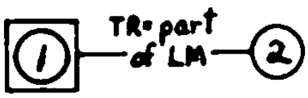


Figure 16: The Network of OT-

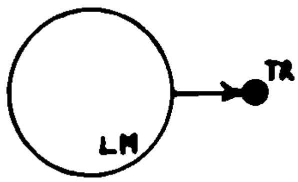


In both configurations the trajector is separated from the landmark which it was previously attached to. In configuration 1 (<away>,

<retribution>, closure>), the trajector is an entity independent of the landmark. A transformation identifying the trajector as part of the landmark produces configuration 2 (<sever>, <excess>).

8.2 CONFIGURATION 1

Away, Retribution, Closure



The trajector, which is initially adjacent to the landmark, withdraws from it. Both the direction and the distance traveled by the trajector are irrelevant. What is important is that the trajector removes itself from the immediate vicinity of the landmark. This configuration might best be captioned as scission.[22]

[22] The term *scission* was suggested by Flier in Slavic 282, spring 1982.

Away

PATTERN A   POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

intrans subj

-or-   = TR   beings, objects, time

DO

PP   = LM   places, beings, objects

In most instantiations of this submeaning, the landmark is an object and the trajectory is a distance covered in real space. The preposition *ot* often accompanies <away> verbs.

154) Kogda sčet budet oplačen i vaša sputnica vstanet, vy ne zabudete *otodvinut'* (*ot*-'move') ee stul.

When the bill is paid and your date gets up, do not forget *to pull out* her chair.

The landmark, although not explicitly specified, is the table, away from which the date's chair (trajector) is moved.

155) U načal'nika onemeli ruki, v žívote otkrylis' koliki. Žena ne na minutu ne rešalas' *otojti* (*ot*-'walk') ot krovati.

The boss' hands became numb, he had colic in his stomach. His wife would not *walk away* from his bed even for a minute.

156) Vnezapno nastupila ottepel'. Aerodrom raskis do takoj stepeni, čto šassi samoletov uvjazali v grunte i u motorov ne xvatalo sily, čtoby *otorvat'sja* (*ot*-'tear'-reflex) ot zemli.

Suddenly a thaw set in. The airport became so soggy that the planes' landing gear became stuck in the ground and the motors were not strong enough *to tear* them away from the earth.

Metaphorically the eyes are limbs which touch the objects they perceive,[23] cf. the expressions *raskidyvat' glaza* (lit. 'throw one's eyes about') 'look about', *vskidyvat' glazami na kogo, čto* (lit. 'throw one's eyes up on someone, something') 'look over someone, something', *lezt' v glaza* (lit. 'crawl into one's eyes') 'try to be noticed', *popadat'sja na glaza* (lit. 'wind up in someone's eyes') 'catch someone's eye', *bit' v glaza, po glazam* (lit. 'hit in the eyes') 'be very noticeable'. Part of this well-established system of metaphors in Russian is the phrase *ne moč' otorvat' glaz ot kogo, čego* 'not to be able to take one's eyes off (lit. tear one's eyes away from) something, someone', in which the eyes play the role of trajector and the object on which they are focused is the landmark.

157) Passažir, ošelomlennyj, ne mog *otorvat'* (*ot*-'tear') glaz ot neožidannogo zrelišča.

The passenger, who was stunned, could not *take* his eyes *off* the unexpected sight.

158) Vserossijskaja slava Esenina *otvraščala* (*ot*-'turn') ot nego èstetov, ne odobrjavšix p'janye deboši i donžuanskie spiski, i potrebovalos' vremennoe rasstojanie, čtoby v polnoj mere ocenit'

[23] Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 50.

prekrasnuju i čistuju eseninskuju liriku.

The pan-Russian glory of Esenin *averted* from him the aesthetes who did not approve of drunken riots and Don Juan-ish accounts; a temporal distance was required in order to fully appreciate Esenin's wonderful and pure lyric.

Esenin's popularity turned away finicky intellectuals both physically, in that they shunned him and his works, and metaphorically, in that they established a certain emotional distance between him and themselves.

159) Prorvavšiesja na svobodu pisateli rešitel'no *otvergli* (*ot*-'throw down') cenzurnuju stydlivost', i v knigax vpervye za dolgie gody pojavilas' necenzurnaja leksika.

Writers who had broken through to freedom decisively *rejected* the temerity of censorship and for the first time in many years, four-letter words appeared in books.

In this example, the distance covered by the trajector (writers) separating it from the landmark (temerity of censorship) is largely emotional, motivated by frustration with and desire to be free of censorship. Other verbs which instantiate <away> in terms of emotional space are *otkazat'sja* *ot*-'signal'-reflex 'refuse' and *otricat'* *ot*-'say' 'deny' (the landmark is the thing refused and the trajector is the person doing the refusing), *otdumat'* *ot*-'think' 'change one's mind', *otgovorit'* *ot*-'talk' 'dissuade' (the landmark is an opinion to

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which the trajector, a person, was originally attached, but has now rejected), and *otučit'sja* *ot*-'teach'-reflex 'break oneself of a habit' and *otvyknut'* *ot*-'be accustomed' 'get unused to' (the landmark). is a habit.

Cognitive space may also refer to style, as in the example below, where the landmark is realism.

160) A čem dal'še v konce 70-x godov russkaja literatura *otxodila* (*ot*-'walk') ot privyčnogo realizma, tem neožidannee i strannee stanovilis' kumiry, privjazannosti, vzlety slavy i vspyški nenavisti.

And the further Russian literature *departed* from customary realism in the late 70's, the more idols, affections, outpourings of glory and outbursts of hatred became unexpected and strange.

Due to the metaphorical realization of time as a commodity[24] (cf. *u menja net vremenl* 'I do not have time'), time can be recognized as an object (trajector) which is taken away from someone (landmark).

161) Bol'še vsego vremeni *otnimalo* (*ot*-'take') u načal'nika sostavlenie otčeta, i ne tol'ko potomu, čto rukovodjaščie organy trebovali mnogočislennyx i podrobnyx svedenij...

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[24] Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Chapter 2.

> Putting together the report *took up* more of the boss' time than anything else, not just because the governing bodies required extensive and detailed information...

In many instantiations of <away>, the base verb names the activity which originally attached the trajector to the landmark. These *ot*-prefixed verbs denote negation of the activity of the base verb, meaning 'undo'. Examples are: *otlepit'* *ot*-'stick' 'unstick' *otkleit'* *ot*-'glue' 'unglue', *otstegnut'* *ot*-'button' 'unbutton', *otkolot'* *ot*-'pin' 'unpin', *otkrepit'* *ot*-'fasten' 'unfasten', and *otsoedinit'* *ot*-'join' 'disjoin'. Because the actions named by these verbs are performed in response to a previous action, these verbs are similar to those in the <retribution> submeaning below.

Retribution

PATTERN A		POSSIBLE REFERENTS:
intrans subj	= TR	beings (usually human)
PP -or- inc. in verb	= LM	various "debts" requiring action in response

The landmark in this submeaning is an action (performed by another agent) which has attached itself to a trajector (usually a person) and motivates some response. In many instantiations, the landmark may

be thought of as a debt which the trajector wishes to be rid of, as in the verbs *otplatit'* *ot*-'pay' 'pay back' and *otblagodarit'* *ot*-'thank' 'thank (in return for something)'. The trajector responds by withdrawing from the landmark, negating its effect, like the card player described by the verb *otkozyrjat'* *ot*-'play trump' 'answer trump with trump', who escapes the jeopardy he is placed in by his opponent. In spite of the fact that the only other use of the base verb **-vetit'* is in the verb *privetit'* *pri*-'say' 'greet', the contribution of the prefix *ot*- to *otvetit'* *ot*-'say' 'answer' is discernable. The respondent (trajector) removes itself from a query (landmark) by giving appropriate information. The example below describes a similar situation.

162) Devuški razbivajutsja na gruppy, sperva molčat, dolgo vsmatrivajas' v dal'. Potom kto-to ronjaet slovo, kto-to *otklikaetsja* (ot-'hail'-reflex) i postepenno zavjazyvaetsja razgovor.

The girls broke up into groups, at first remaining silent, looking into the distance for a long time. Then one let out a word and another *answered* and gradually a conversation got started.

If the previous action which the landmark refers to has angered the trajector, it will react by taking revenge.

163) Kogda Ol'ga, želaja *otomstit'* (ot-'avenge') drevljanam za smert' Igorja, rešila pojti na xitrost' i priglasila ix na pir, ona tajno prikazala svoim ljudjam "pit' na nix."

When Ol'ga wanted *to take revenge on* the Drevljans for the death of Igor', she decided to be clever and invited them to a feast and secretly instructed her people "to drink to them."

Closure

PATTERN A		POSSIBLE REFERENTS:
intrans subj -or- DO	= TR	beings, objects, events
inc. in verb	= LM	TR's mission

PATTERN B		POSSIBLE REFERENTS:
trans subj	= TR	beings (usually human)
DO	= LM	jobs that take time, rhythm

Here the landmark is an activity or a period of time which must be completed. Until this is done the trajector is not freed from the landmark, because it is involved in performing an action or waiting for a given duration to be concluded. When the given duty has been accomplished, the trajector is no longer bound to the landmark.

164) Kak-to Ivanu Groznomu predstavilsja slučaj prepodat' netočnym viziteram urok vežlivosti. Litovskie posly, kotorym byl naznačen opredelennyj čas audiencii, namnogo opozdali, vynudiv carja dožidat'sja, poka oni doslušajut obednju "svoix popov." Na sledujuščij den' Groznyj zastavil poslov "dožidat'sja togo, kak carju obednju *otpojut* (ot-'sing')."

Once Ivan the Terrible had an opportunity to teach some impunctual visitors a lesson in politeness. Lithuanian diplomats, who were given an appointment for an audience came very late, and made the tsar wait until they heard the mass of "their priests" to the end. The next day Ivan the Terrible made the diplomats "wait until mass *was concluded* (lit. finished singing) for the tsar."

165) Da i v samom dele, odno -- letat' v mirnom nebe na graždanskix samoletax, drugoe -- byt' soldatom, každyj den' idti navstreču smerti, znaja, čto tak bylo segodnja, tak budet zavtra, poslezavtra, v tečenie nedel', mesjacev, let, do tex por, poka gde-to tam, na zapade, na čužoj zemle, ne *otgremit* (ot-'thunder') poslednij vystrel.

It is true that flying civilian planes in peaceful skies is one thing, but it is another thing to be a soldier, to meet death every day, knowing that what happens today will also happen tomorrow and the next day and so on for weeks, months and

years until somewhere over there in the West, in a foreign country, the last shot *ceases its roar*.

166) My s Kljuevoj s neterpeniem ždali, kogda *otremontirujut* (*ot*-'repair') nas U-2.
-- Nu, kak dela? -- to i delo pristavali my k našemu texniku Kate Titovoj. -- Skoro zakončiš'?
-- Oj, devčata, -- otmaxivalas' ona ispačkannymi v masle rukami.
-- Ne mešajte! Idite lučše *otdyxat'* (*ot*-'breathe')!

Kljuevaja and I waited impatiently for them *to finish repairing* our U-2. "Well, how are things?" time and again we pestered our mechanic Katja Titovaja. "Will you be done soon?" "Oh, girls," she shooed us away with her grease-stained hands. "Don't interfere! Go *rest* instead!"

In the first three verbs the connection with the <closure> submeaning is clear: the trajector is involved in some activity (singing, roaring, being repaired) which it subsequently stops and thereby disassociates itself from the activity. The second verb in the last example, *otdyxat'* *ot*-'breathe' 'rest', requires some explanation. This imperfective is derived from *otdoxnut'* *ot*-'breathe' 'rest'. The base verb means 'breathe' and the prefixed perfective can be compared with the English expression *take a breather*. When a person is physically exhausted he needs a chance just to breathe until his body returns to its normal state. Thus the trajector of *otdoxnut'*

ot-'breathe' 'rest' is a person who is associated with the landmark activity of "just breathing" for a time until other activities cna be undertaken.

The next example combines elements of both <away> (the separation of bombs from the body of the airplane) and <closure> (the completion of a bombing mission).

167) -- Ničego, -- spokojno otvetila Ol'ga, -- zlej budem. *Otbombilis'* (*ot*-'bomb'-reflex) my, dejstvitel'no, zlo, ugodili v samuju kolonnu.

"Don't worry," Ol'ga answered calmly, "we will be the meaner for it." We really *did drop our load of bombs* wickedly, we hit them right in the ranks.

In some instantiations of <closure> the landmark is a period of time to be waited out rather than a job to be completed. Like all verbs in this submeaning, examples of this type of <closure> emphasize the end point or completion of the period of time involved, cf. *otsidet'* (*ot*-'sit') *prigovor v tjurme* 'sit out a sentence in jail'.

168) -- Ty čego? -- ostanovila ja podrugu.

-- Našli vremja dlja proverki! Sejčas ne učeba, a vojna, -- serdito otvetila Ol'ga.

-- Uspeeš', naletaeš'sja eščе. Budeš' rada, kogda kto-nibud' podmenit tebja v kabine.

-- Možet byt', ty i prava, no sejčas u menja net želanija *otsiživat'sja* (ot-'sit'-reflex) na aerodrome.

"What is with you?" I stopped my friend.

"They have found time for examinations! This is not school, but war," answered Ol'ga angrily.

"You wil fly again. You should be glad when someone takes your place in the cabin."

"Perhaps you are right, but right now I have no desire *to sit it out* at the airport."

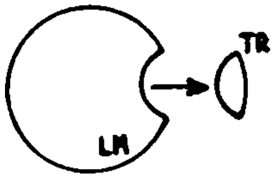
In the next example a comparatively short period of time is measured out and this action is reiterated.

169) Sidja v zale, vy ne budete vo vremja spektaklja ili koncerta kačat' golovoj, *otbivat'* (ot-'beat') takt nogoj ili postukivat' pal'cami po spinke kresla.

When sitting in a hall during a show or concert, do not nod your head, *beat out* the rhythm with your foot or tap the back of the chair with your fingers.

8.3 CONFIGURATION 2

Sever, Excess



In configuration 2 the trajector is a part of the landmark which is removed. The initial unity of the landmark and trajector is destroyed.

Sever

PATTERN A		POSSIBLE REFERENTS:
DO	= TR	pieces, parts, subgroups
complement of TR	= LM	whole objects, whole groups

In most instantiations of this submeaning, the trajector is physically cut off and removed from the landmark, hence the predominance of base verbs denoting cutting or breaking, cf. *otlomat'* *ot*-'break' 'break off', *otkusit'* *ot*-'bite' 'bite off', *otpilit'* *ot*-'saw' 'saw off', *otgryzt'* *ot*-'gnaw' 'gnaw off', *otporot'* *ot*-'rip' 'rip off'. Other actions which can cause a part to be separated from the whole are also named

in base verbs, as in *otkrutit'* *ot*-'twist' 'twist off' and *otgnit'* *ot*-'rot' 'rot off'. In some cases the separation of the trajector from the landmark is more symbolic than physical, cf. *otgorodit'* *ot*-'fence' 'fence off', *otmeževat'* ot-'border' 'mark off (with a boundary)', and *otmerit'* ot-'measure' 'measure off'.

170) Mjaso ne razrezajut na melkie doli srazu, inače ono bystro ostynet. *Otrezav* (*ot*-'cut') i s"ev kusoček, prigotavlivajut sledujuščij.

Meat should not be cut up into little bits right away because it will quickly get cold. After a piece is *cut off* and eaten, the next one is prepared.

171) Kogda kurice *otrubajut* (*ot*-'chop') golovu, ona begaet po dvoru s otrublennoj golovoj.

When a chicken's head is *chopped off*, it runs around the yard with its head chopped off.

In the next example, the domain referred to by cognitive space is perception; our perception of one object is disassociated from that of the group to which it belongs.

172) Novyj žurnal "Tajnovedenie" predstavljaet vse tri varianta podxoda k znaniju. Èta širota sčastlivo *otličaet* (*ot*-'identity') ego ot mnogix sovremennyx odnopartijnyx pečatnyx organov.

The new magazine "Study of Mysteries" presents all three approaches to knowledge. This breadth fortunately *distinguishes* it from the many one-sided publications of today.

Excess

PATTERN A		POSSIBLE REFERENTS:
DO	= TR	body parts
complement of TR	= LM	bodies (usually of human beings)

This submeaning is a metaphorical extension of <sever>. Excessive activity causes harm to a body part, which stops reacting to the needs of the rest of the body. The body part is thus metaphorically detached from the body. This use of *ot-* finds some parallels in English *off*, compare *otpljasat'* (ot-'dance') *sebe nogi* 'dance one's legs off', *otxodit'* (ot-'walk') *sebe nogi* 'walk one's legs off'.

173) -- Vot ja sejčas Pereca razbužu.

-- Ne otxodi ot lestnicy, -- skazala Alevtina.

-- Ja ne splju, -- skazal Perec. -- Ja uže davno na vas smotrju.

-- Ottuda ničego ne vidno, -- skazal Tuzik. -- Vy sjuda idite, pan Perec, tut vse est': i ženščiny, i vino, i frukty...

Perec podnjalsja, pripadaja na *otsižennuju* (ot-'sit') nogu, podošel k lestnice i nalil sebe iz butylki.

"I'll wake Perec up now."

"Don't step away from the ladder," said Alevtina.

"I am not sleeping," said Perec. "I have been watching you for a while now."

"You cannot see anything from there," said Tuzik. "Come here, Mr. Perec, we have everything here: women, wine, and fruit..."

Perec got up, limping on his leg *which had fallen asleep* (lit. his *sat off* leg), walked up to the ladder and poured himself (some wine) from the bottle.

If one sits in the wrong position, one's leg (trajector) can become numb and stop fuctioning in harmony with the rest of the body (landmark). An arm can also serve as the trajector of an *ot*-<excess> verb, as in the example below.

174) Mal'čik, kotorogo vela ženščina, otstaval, *ottjagivaja* (*ot*-'pull') ej ruku.

The boy whom the woman was leading lagged behind and *made* her arm *sore* (lit. *pulled off* her arm).

This is the most peripheral submeaning of *ot*-: fewer fewer than fifteen base verbs participate in producing *ot*- prefixed perfectives in <excess>.

Chapter IX
SUMMARY

Now that the application of cognitive categorization to the semantics of four Russian verbal prefixes has been demonstrated, a discussion of the present model in general terms can be undertaken. I will compare the relative advantages and disadvantages of the traditional, structuralist, and the present, or "modified structuralist," approaches and then comment on the nature and variety of links connecting configurations in cognitive networks.

9.1 A COMPARISON OF THE THREE APPROACHES

Chapter 2 contains a list of seven questions which are unanswerable in the traditional framework. These questions were used as criteria for judging the validity of both the traditional and structuralist approaches, and the present approach will likewise be subjected to this test.

1) *Identity of submeanings* -- what distinguishes seemingly identical submeanings of different prefixes?

Each of the four prefixes examined in the chapter has an <excess> submeaning. Although the question of how they differ will be taken up in some detail in the following chapter, here it will suffice to note

that the difference between the configurations of *za-*, *pere-*, *do-*, and *ot-* accounts for the differences between their respective expressions of <excess>.

2) *System of combination* -- what is the system for combining verbs with prefixes?

To restate the question, given a base verb(and usually a context as well), which prefix will be used? Because at this point only four out of a system of twenty-one prefixes have been analyzed, a complete set of predictions cannot be made, but we have analyzed each of the four to a significant enough degree to permit reasoned speculation. The unidirectionality of the change of state signalled by *za-* predicts that base verbs denoting changes in this direction (or the resultant state) will combine with *za-* in this submeaning, but verbs denoting an opposite change resist combination with *za-*. This prediction was shown to hold for newly borrowed verbs as well. The association of certain semantic groups of verbs with certain submeanings of given prefixes strengthens our predictive powers. If we take a base verb which denotes some sort of cutting, for example, we can, given some information about the context, predict which prefix it will take: if an object is cut in two, *pere-* will be used; if part of the object is cut off, *ot-* will be used; and if the cutting is superficial, *za-* will be used.

3) *Prediction* -- given a base verb and a prefix, which submeaning(s) will be instantiated?

The association of groups of verbs with certain submeanings improves our ability to make predictions in this direction as well. Given a base verb that denotes food preparation of some kind and a singular object (baking, boiling, frying) and the prefix *pere-*, we can be quite certain that <excess> will be instantiated. Verbs that describe the traveling of physical objects through space (run, walk, throw) will evoke the submeanings <deflection>, <transfer>/<over> (depending upon whether a vertical component is involved, as with the verbs *brosit'* 'throw', *skočit'* 'jump'), <reach>, and <away> when combined with *za-*, *pere-*, *do-*, and ot-, respectively. Further research on the types of verbs that are associated with the submeanings of prefixes could potentially produce predictions valid for most, if not all, of the verbal lexicon.

4) *Coherence of submeanings* -- is there any relationship between the submeanings of a given prefix?

The unity of submeanings of a prefix, which is intuitively sensed by native speakers, finds full expression in the present model. If a configuration has two submeanings, they are linked by metaphorical extension, accomplished by various identifications of the elements of the configuration. For instance, the submeanings <transfer> and <duration> of *pere-*'s configuration 1 differ in the referent of the landmark: for <transfer> the landmark is a physical space, whereas for <duration> it is identified with a period of time. The configurations are in turn linked by minimal transformations in their

shape and composition, and form a tight network in which each configuration is related to a prototype. Not only is the unity of submeanings asserted in this model, but the internal semantic structure of the prefix and the relationships that unite the submeanings are described in detail as well.

5) *Number of submeanings* -- how many submeanings does a given prefix have?

Although there is still room to quibble over exactly how many submeanings are present in the semantic make-up of a given prefix, the present model does contain some safeguards against the arbitrary expansion or contraction of a list of submeanings. The recognition of metaphorical uses removes the need to set up new "submeanings" for verbs whenever they can be identified as metaphorical applications of a pervasive submeaning. Recall, for example, the case of *zaglušit'* *za*-'deafen' 'drown out', which is a metaphorical example of <cover>. Given the constraint that every submeaning of a prefix must be related (through the prototype) to every other submeaning, unnecessary splintering of submeanings is strongly discouraged. Recall the verbs *zaest'* *za*-'eat' 'chase' and *zapit'* *za*-'drink' 'wash down', which were traditionally given a separate submeaning described as "to perform the action named by the motivating verb immediately after another action." Such a submeaning would be avoided; instead these verbs would be incorporated in a submeaning which is clearly systematic in the *za*- network. Conversely, the

present model guards against excessive collapsing of submeanings since the association of every submeaning with its configuration must be immediately and easily perceived; if not, another configuration bearing a more transparent relationship to the submeaning is called for. These "safeguards" are admittedly rather subjective and do not guarantee an exact number of submeanings for each prefix, but they do make a step toward curtailing the wide variation evident in previous descriptions.

6) *Classification* -- can every instantiation of a prefix be identified with a single submeaning?

In the traditional description, certain prefixed verbs are problematic because they either cannot be classified as examples of a single submeaning (they seem to belong to more than one of what are distinct, unrelated and non-overlapping submeanings) or because they appear to be unrelated to all of the submeanings (as in the case of the "fused" forms). Since in the present model all of the submeanings of a prefix are interrelated, the observation that some verbs draw on more than one submeaning is not problematic. Examples of this phenomenon, referred to as "multiple motivation," are given in the discussion of <inchoative> in the section on *za-* above. Verbs with fused prefixes, such as *zabyt' za-*'be' 'forget' and *otvetit' ot-*'say' 'answer', appear stranded and unsystematic in traditional descriptions because the contribution of the base verb (traditionally taken to be the dominant member of the prefix-verb

union) is unclear, and the role of metaphor in prefixai semantics is not fully recognized. In the present model, these verbs are regular examples of well-established submeanings. *Zobyt'* *za*-'be' 'forget' is a metaphorical use of <deflection> and *otvetit'* *ot*-'say' 'answer' is a straightforward example of <retribution>.

7) *Empty prefixes* -- are there empty prefixes?

Against the background of the present model, it is obvious that the idea of empty prefixation is a product of excessive emphasis on the semantics of base verbs as opposed to prefixes. According to traditional reasoning, if the meaning of the prefixed verb is determined to be entirely predictable from the semantics of the base verb alone, the prefix is declared to be empty, signaling merely perfectivity. According to Tixonov, for example, the verb *zaasfal'tirovat'* *za*-'asfalt' 'asphalt' is simply the perfective of *asfal'tirovat'* 'asphalt', and the prefix *za*- is empty. In the present framework our analysis suggests that the meaning of the verb in these cases is very similar to a given submeaning of the prefix, resulting in semantic overlap or redundancy. This type of redundancy is not only acceptable, but even expected, since base verbs whose meanings reflect the pattern of a configuration are naturally compatible with that configuration. Since the present modified structuralist model effectively does away with empty prefixes, it also spares us having to answer the corollary questions associated with them, given in Chapter 2.

In the present model the problems inherent in traditional descriptions, many of which were identified by structuralists, are further corrected or diminished. What remains is to point out the differences between this approach and the standard structuralist approach. Standard structuralist descriptions are aimed primarily at the coherence of submeanings (question 4, above) and incidentally at empty prefixes (7), but although they may recognize the remaining issues, they do not deal with them directly. Structuralists have up to this point had no apparatus to account for the internal structure of the semantic make-up of the prefix, an aspect of the present description which is quite explicit. Structuralists have consequently overemphasized the unity of the submeanings without paying sufficient attention to their diversity. The feature specifications produced according to the standard structuralist model are very abstract and do not provide enough specific information to describe the semantics of individual instantiations of a prefix. The present approach attempts to strike a balance between unity and diversity in semantic description. The network illustrates the tight unity of the submeanings of a prefix: each configuration is only at most a few links removed from the prototype. Both the diversity of the members of a semantic category and the system that holds them together are manifest.

Another advantage to the present model is the fact that it is consistent with what we know about natural human categorization. Both the traditional and standard structuralist descriptions assume

that semantic categorization is best captured by grouping items in classical sets. According to Rosch's findings, semantic information is not stored and accessed in the brain in categories with the properties of sets, but rather in family-style groupings. The present model is based on her findings and therefore has a stronger claim to psychological reality than other models.

In spite of the differences between the standard structuralist and present approaches, it is conceivable that a description of the type given here for *za-*, *pere-*, *do-*, and *ot-* might be plausible within the framework of structuralism, given some minor adjustments in the concept of the invariant. Here, the prototype organizes the category, all the members of which must make reference to it. The function of the invariant (or set of invariant features) of a structuralist category can be characterized in similar terms, but to do so would mean overlooking significant differences between invariants and prototypes. It would be misleading to call the prototype of a cognitive category an invariant because there is no single attribute of the prototype that must mandatorily be present in order to guarantee the membership of each instantiation. The prototype is, however, invariantly present in the sense that every member of the category must make reference to it, and herein lies the conceptual bridge between the modified structuralist and standard structuralist approaches. If structuralism can accept the substitution of prototypes for invariants, then the cognitive approach, rather than being at odds with the structuralist approach, is consistent with it.

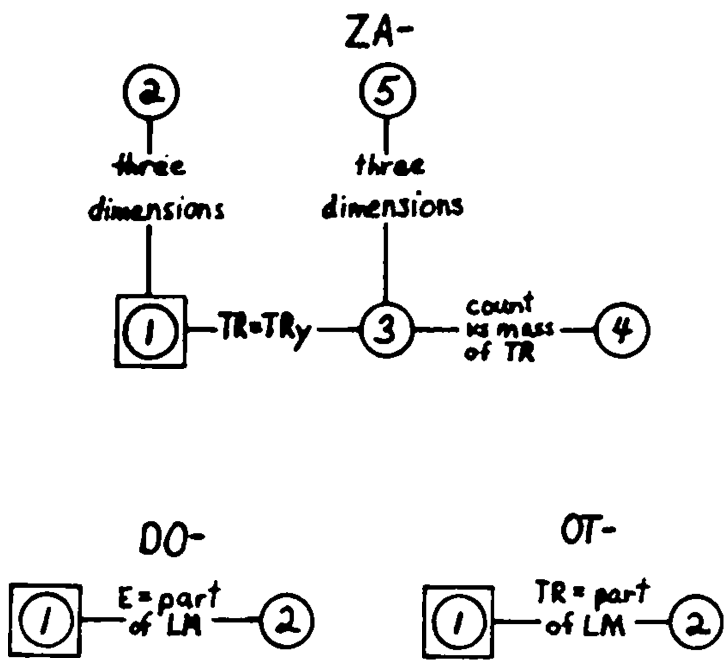
There are some indications that this is indeed possible, most notably Jakobson's qualification of invariance as "relative." Adopting the concept of the prototype to replace the concept of the invariant would encumber structuralist descriptions because a category based on a prototype has internal structure and is therefore inherently more complex than a category defined by an invariant. This initial hardship may in reality be a boon because it would give structuralists an apparatus for organizing and describing the internal complexity of semantic categories, a task which has thus far been largely out of their reach. The present and standard structuralist approaches could be felicitously wedded, producing rich semantic descriptions that solve the problems that were troublesome in the traditional framework.

9.2 ON LINKAGE

Structuralism may be amenable to the introduction of prototype-based categories, but certain aspects of cognitive categories still require more precise specification. Eliminating the invariant effectively erases the boundaries of a classical set theory category; cognitive categories have no boundaries at all. The only limiting characteristic of a cognitive category is the link, which has until now been only very vaguely defined as "a minor transformation of the configuration." If the structure of the cognitive category is indeed valid and not merely an artifact of the linguist's imagination, it should be possible to draw up a short list of these transformations and in so doing to demonstrate that the links are not random and arbitrary, but rather

form a small, closed system. This could be done to satisfaction only given a thorough cognitive analysis of the entire system of Russian verbal prefixes and of similar systems in other languages for comparison. The fourteen links present in the four networks given in this dissertation are sufficient, however, to allow at least some preliminary comments on the nature and system of links. Exploded diagrams of the networks are reproduced below for reference and Table 11 outlines the types of links in the networks. Each type of link is given a name and the links of that type are listed. "*Za*-1/2," for example, refers to the link between configurations 1 and 2 in the *za*- network.

Figure 17: The Networks



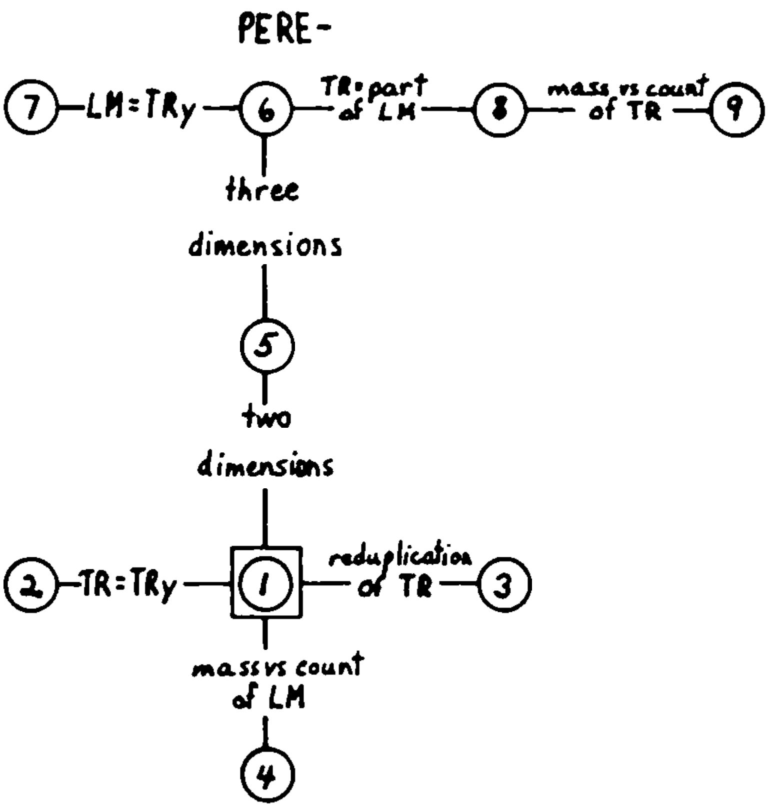


Table 11

Quantification

dimensionality

--1 > 2 dimensions pere- 1/5

--2 > 3 dimensions za- 1/2, 3/5; pere- 5/6

reduplication

--of trajector pere- 1/3

mass versus count

--of trajector za- 3/4; pere- 8/9

--of landmark pere- 1/4

Identity

whole = whole

--trajector = trajectory za- 1/3; pere- 1/2

--landmark = trajectory pere- 6/7

whole = part

--trajector = part of landmark ot- 1/2; pere- 6/8

--point E = part of the landmark do- 1/2

As shown in Table 11, the fourteen links that compose the networks of the four given prefixes fall into two groups. Links in the first group operate on the quantity of dimensions or configurational elements in the configuration. In the second group, one element of the configuration is identified with another or with part of another element. Thus the links form a coherent group which acts on two of the basic characteristics of the configuration, and each subtype of transformation is roughly equally represented.

Although it would be premature to rank order the transformations given only these four networks, a few comments can be made to this effect. Obviously, the dimensionality tranformations can be applied only where appropriate (i.e., 1 > 2 dimensions can be performed only

on unidimensional configurations) and are ordered (1 > 2 before 2 > 3). It appears that the reduplication and mass vs. count transformations come last, i.e., that the resultant configurations do not spawn any further configurations. Since the quantification transformations always decompose an element of the configuration into two or more units, thereby destroying the integrity of that element, it stands to reason that such configurations would consequently resist further mutation. Given the systematicity of the links studied in this dissertation, it appears that they form a circumscribed group which may be specific enough to satisfy the rigors of a basically structuralist framework. Like distinctive semantic features, links form a small, circumscribed group and they appear in various combinations in the semantic description of prefixes. Although parallel in function, links differ from features in focus, since they serve to restrict the internal structure of a semantic category, rather than to establish external boundaries. Limitation is present in both the structuralist and modified structuralist models. In addition to the limits placed on the present description by the system of links, the prototype restricts the network to configurations which are related to it. The restrictions on the present model are internal and therefore less salient than those on descriptions using feature specifications, but their essential function is in some ways similar.

Chapter X

VARIETIES OF EXPRESSIONS OF EXCESS

This dissertation opened with an assumption (numbered 1) which is characteristic of the traditional framework: "the semantic realization of a given submeaning is equivalent for all instantiations of all prefixes which include it in their semantic make-up." Data on the compatibility of verbs with the prefixes *za-*, *pere-*, *do-*, and *ot-* in their <excess> submeaning, as well as a questionnaire given to native speakers, showed this assumption to be false. Each prefix indeed expresses <excess> in its own way, a phenomenon which has no place in traditional descriptions. This finding in turn initiated a search for an approach to prefixal semantics which would bring the interprefixal differences between similar submeanings into relief. This chapter presents a brief discussion of how such differences are accounted for in the modified structuralist model.

10.1 <EXCESS> AND THE CONFIGURATIONS AND MAPPING PATTERNS

The prototypical notion of <excess> has, of course, its own semantic composition, which various instantiations match more or less closely. Coleman and Kay's (1981) analysis of *lie* serves as an appropriate model for approaching the varieties of <excess> expressed by

prefixes. They (Coleman and Kay 1981:28) defined the prototypical *lie* as follows:

a) the proposition is false

b) the speaker believes the proposition to be false

c) in uttering the proposition, the speaker intends to deceive the addressee.

Actual instantiations of *lie* may involve one or more of these elements and, contrary to the preference of lexicographers for a), c) was found to be the most important, if not crucial, ingredient of *lie*.

<Excess> can similarly be broken down into components which together give an outline of its prototype. Webster's (20th century Unabridged, 1977) defines *excess* thus:

1. action or conduct that goes beyond the usual, reasonable, or lawful limit

2. intemperance; immoderation; overindulgence

Compare this with Ožegov's definition of *sliškom* 'too much':

Svyše mery, čeresčur, vyxodit za predely dopustimogo.

Beyond normal, too much, going beyond the bounds of what is allowable.

From these definitions two properties emerge:

a) transgression of a boundary

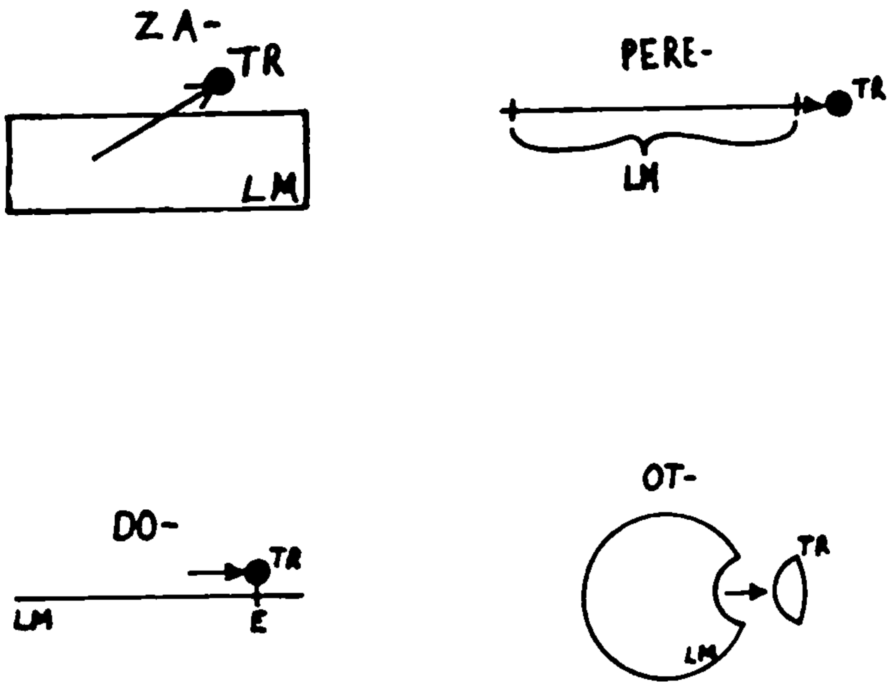
b) negatively evaluated result.

The properties correspond roughly to Webster's 1. and 2. respectively, whereas in the Russian a) represents *svyše* 'beyond' and *vyxodit za predely* 'going beyond the bounds', and b) represents

the complement of *mery* 'normal', *dopustimogo* 'what is allowable'. Curiously enough, as we shall see, property a), which is more salient in the dictionary definitions is, like property a) of *lie*, of lesser consequence in determining membership to the category *excess* than b).

The configurations which caption <excess> submeanings of the four prefixes are reproduced below for reference.

Figure 18: Configurations of <Excess>



How do these various configurations of <excess> match up with the prototype properties a) and b)? Each configuration is different, motivating a different realization of <excess>. Yet in all cases the resulting situation is undesirable or abnormal, thus fulfilling property b). Patients of *za-* suffer ruined health, disposition, or death; those of *pere-* are spoiled by overexposure to actions which are normally limited; those of *do-* have through carelessness wound up in trouble; and with *ot-*, limbs are made unresponsive to the bodies that they are members of. All of these results are negatively evaluated. Only two of the configurations, however, entail the transgression of a boundary: those of the prefixes *za-* and *pere-*. In *za-*, the trajector transgresses a lateral boundary of a two-dimensional landmark, whereas in *pere-* it crosses the end point of a one-dimensional landmark. This property (a) is altogether absent in the configurations of *do-* and *ot-*. Thus already on the basis of matching the submeanings and their configurations with the prototypical properties of <excess>, it is possible to divide the prefixes into two groups: *za-* and *pere-*, having both properties a) and b) on the one hand, and *do-* and *ot-*, having only b) on the other. What remains is to identify among the two pairs of prefixes the differences in configuration as they relate to differences in expression of <excess>.

A review of the mapping patterns of configurational elements in <excess> submeanings both supports this initial grouping and suggests further subdivisions. The mapping patterns for <excess> are reproduced below:

ZA-

PATTERN A		POSSIBLE REFERENTS:
intrans subj -or- DO	= TR	beings, objects, newness
PP -or- inc. in verb	= EX	exhaustion, death, undesirable states

(LM is complement of EX)

PERE-

PATTERN A		POSSIBLE REFERENTS:
intrans subj -or- DO	= TR	food, animals, people (objects needing preparation or maintenance)
inc. in verb	= LM	acts (normative completion of action named in simplex)

DO-

PATTERN A		POSSIBLE REFERENTS:
intrans subj	= TR	human beings, personified animals
inc. in verb	= LM	activities that are harmful if pursued carelessly
PP/inc. in verb	= E	undesirable state

OT-

PATTERN A		POSSIBLE REFERENTS:
DO	= TR	body parts
complement of TR	= LM	bodies (usually of human beings)

All four <excess> submeanings use pattern A, yet *za-* and *pere-* both may use either transitive or intransitive verbs with this pattern, but *do-* is restricted to intransitive verbs, and *ot-* to transitive verbs. The following two sections will discuss how details in the structures of the configurations, together with the various referents of the configurational elements correspond to differences between the <excess> submeanings of the members of the pairs *pere-/za-* and *do-/ot-*, respectively.

10.2 DO- VERSUS OT-

As noted above, *do-* <excess> is specific to intransitive verbs, but *ot-* <excess> uses exclusively transitive verbs. The items listed under "possible referents" indicate further differences between these submeanings. *Ot-* <excess> is very limited since it can only refer to body parts. This specification is mutually exclusive with *do-*'s "human beings, personified animals." *Do-* requires that its trajector recognize and regret the resultant state, a role which an arm, a leg or any other disembodied member cannot fill. Due to the tight constraints on the referents of the trajector of *do-* and especially *ot-*, the scope of these <excess> submeanings in terms of the base verbs which may combine with them is strictly limited: *ot-* is quite marginal, combining with only fourteen simplexes, and *do-*, though 100 different base verbs may be prefixed by it in this submeaning, is also restricted to a relatively small sector of the lexicon (cf. *za-* <excess> which combines with 166 base verbs and *pere-* <excess> which combines with 141). Certain generalizations can be made about the types of verbs involved. Verbs prefixed by *ot-* <excess> generally refer to positions or actions in which one body part may be disadvantaged with respect to the whole, such as *sidet'* 'sit', *ležat'* 'lie', *tjanut'* 'pull'. Verbs prefixed by *do-* <excess>, on the contrary, refer to actions performed carelessly in which people can get carried away and thereby cause themselves harm. Therefore typical *do-* <excess> verbs describe lighthearted activities, such as *šutit'* 'joke', *smejat'sja* 'laugh', *pet'* 'sing'. Verbs that have inanimate

subjects (like *kristallizovat'sja* 'crystallize') and those with end points not subject to human will, like *rodit'sja* 'be born', *žit'* 'live', *umeret'* 'die', do not combine with *do-* in this submeaning.

10.3 ZA- VERSUS PERE-

Although the differences between *za-* <excess> and *pere-* <excess> are subtler than those discussed above for *do-* and *ot-*, they are apparent and can be, at least in part, derived from differences in their respective configurations. These configurational differences are three:

1) Dimensionality -- the landmark of *pere-* <excess> is one-dimensional, as opposed to the two-dimensional landmark of *za-*, which establishes an extradomain as its complement

2) Involvement -- due to the difference in dimensionality, the trajector of *za-* is necessarily more involved in the domain and extradomain than that of *pere-* which merely skips over its landmark

3) Orientation -- the diagonal orientation of *za-*'s trajectory suggests inherent deviance in comparison with *pere-*'s trajectory, which aims toward normal completion but overshoots it.

The differences in the configurations correspond to different characteristics which typify the individual expressions of <excess> of these two prefixes, as summarized in Table 12.

Table 12: Configurational and Semantic Differences

Configurational Differences	ZA- <excess>	PERE- <excess>
Dimensionality	-no measured standard; band of normalcy	-canonical act is simple, well-defined
Involvement	-patient suffers some torture	(no statement abt whether patient suffers)
	-<excess> is result of relatively prolonged activity	-<excess> may be reached suddenly
	-final state is relatively irreversible	-final state not necessarily permanent
Orientation	-activity is pursued in a deviant fashion	-activity is pursued in a normal fashion
	-volition is often a factor in producing this deviance	(no statement about voliiton, end result likely accidental)

Table 12 outlines the semantic trends of *za-* and *pere-*, respectively: a given instantiation may lack some characteristics, but this pattern is quite consistent, allowing little, if any, overlap. *Pere-*'s version of <excess>, being one-dimensional and differing little from normal completion, is much simpler and more straightforward than that of *za*. The trajector of *pere-* typically requires a measured application of the activity named by the base verb, as specified by recipe, standard practice, or some other norm. This standard is simply overreached. Deviance, volition, and suffering, though largely absent from *pere-*, are the hallmarks of *za-* <excess>. The fact that *za-*'s patients suffer from torturous exposure to a given activity, for example, explains *za-*'s preference for animate beings (inanimate objects have at best a minimal capacity for suffering). These differences also translate into differences in the types of base verbs which the two prefixes combine with (see Chapter 1 for partial lists): *za-* base verbs tend to denote torturous or potentially torturous activities, *pere-* base verbs tend to denote preparation or maintenance of inanimate objects or animals. The following examples contrast *pere-* and *za-*, illustrating their differences.

175) Mat' *perekormila* (*pere-*'feed') rebenka.

Mother *gave* the child *too much to eat*.

176) Mat' *zakormila* (*za-*'feed') rebenka.

Mother *overfed* the child (*fattened* him).

175 speaks of a specific occasion on which the child was given too big a meal, perhaps the mother put more formula in the bottle than the doctor had recommended. The result is temporary indigestion. The child in 176, however, suffers a more serious and lasting outcome: through persistent overfeeding he has become obese and lethargic.

177) Professor skazal, čto *Gorky Park* lučše, čem *Vojna i mir* -- on *perexvalil* (*pere-*'praise') knigu.

The professor said that *Gorky Park* is better than *War and Peace* -- he *praised* the book *too highly*.

178) Professora *zaxvalili* (*za-*'praise') studenta, i on stal lenivym.

The professors *gave* the student *too much praise*, and he became lazy.

This pair of examples, as well as the one that follows, shows the correlation of inanimate patients with *pere-* and of animate patients (particularly human beings) with *za-*. Again, the student in 178 is more involved in the process described, suffering a changed psychological state, characteristics that are absent in 177.

179) Frukty *peresideli* (*pere-*'sit') na solnce.

The fruit *sat out* in the sun *too long*.

180) Svoj talant inženera ja *zasidel* (*za-*'sit') v kancelariajax.

I *whiled away* my engineering talents in administrative positions.

The characteristic referred to above as deviance, typical of many *za-* <excess> verbs, is quite salient here. An engineer is usually expected upon graduation to use and develop his talents by working in his field. The narrator of 180, however, deviated from this expected path by devoting his efforts to administration rather than engineering. The fruit in 179 was placed in the sun to dry, an action which is not in and of itself deviant. *Pere-* merely invokes the interpretation that it was left out too long.

181) *Perepoit'* (*pere-*'give to drink') lošad'.

To give a horse *too much water*.

182) Skazyvajut, čto v starinu monaxi, vladičestvovavšie v Bavarii, sistematičeski *zapaivali* (*za-*'give to drink') narod krepkim, gustym pivom, kotoroe deržalo ego v besprestannom poxmel'e.

They say that in olden times the monks who held dominion in Bavaria used to regularly *intoxicate* the people with strong, thick beer, which kept them continually drunk.

These last two examples illustrate in particular the presence of volition, which is more prevalent with *za-* than with *pere-*. The excess water given to the horse in 181 is most likely the result of an oversight and certainly not indicative of any cruel intent. The cunning monks in 182 intentionally made the people drunk in order to guarantee their submission.

10.4 SUMMARY OF <EXCESS>

Given the regularity and the clarity of the differences between the individual expressions of <excess> of the four prefixes, the consistency with which consultants responded to the questionnaire in Chapter 1 is understandable. Each prefix has a unique expression of <excess>, allowing only minimal overlap with others. Since these differences are derivable either directly from the configurations or indirectly through the mapping patterns and referents of the configurational elements, they form an integral part of the modified structuralist analysis of the prefixes. If the system of Russian verbal prefixes as a whole were subjected to such an analysis, I suspect that all apparent cases of submeanings being shared by two or more prefixes (such as, for example, the <inchoative> submeaning that *po-* and *za-* allegedly share) could be shown to involve systematic differences resulting from configurational variation (cf. Flier 1975).

Chapter XI

A REMARK ON ASPECT

The word is to reality what a map is to the world.

--Bull

With the exception of a few dozen inherently perfective simplex verbs (e.g., *rešit'* 'decide', *kupit'* 'buy') and the suffix *-nu-*, which forms approximately 300 nonprefixed perfectives, perfectivization is the exclusive domain of the verbal prefixes. Given this fact, it stands to reason that the meanings of the verbal prefixes should contain a clue to the meaning of the term "perfective." This chapter will very briefly outline the search for a definition of perfective, present an interpretation of this term, and conclude with a word about Aktionsart. This chapter does not contain definitive solutions to these issues: such complex matters are far beyond the range of a single dissertation. Rather, the intention here is to give the reader a taste, albeit a somewhat impressionistic one, of how such issues might be viewed in a modified structuralist framework. Note also that the contributions of suffixes (*-nu-*, *-yvaj-*, etc.) to aspect and Aktionsart will not be discussed since the focus of this dissertation is on prefixes.

11.1 DEFINITIONS OF THE TERM PERFECTIVE

The definition of perfective remains one of the thornier problems of Slavic linguitsics, one that has been subjected to the earnest efforts of some of the field's best scholars. Definitions range from lists of characteristics (e.g., Bondarko and Bulanin 1967, Karcevski 1962) to integrated but abstract descriptions (e.g., Isačenko's (1960) definition of perfective and imperfective as viewed action-externally and action-internally, respectively). As is commonly noted (by, for example, Forsyth (1970), Bondarko and Bulanin (1967), and Maslov (1962)), any characteristic given in a definition of perfective is subject to counterexample. Perhaps the most satisfactory treatment of this subejct is that of Comrie (1976:3-4) who, in a statement renimiscent of Isačenko, asserts that "perfective presents the totality of the situation referred to...: a single unanalyzable whole, with beginning, middle, and end rolled up into one" and that "imperfective makes explicit reference to the internal constituency of the situation." To use Bull's apt terminology, then, the term perfective refers to an event. It is this definition which will serve as the basis for the following discussion of aspect.

11.2 THE LEXICO-GRAMMATICAL DICHOTOMY

The introduction to this chapter contains a claim that prefixal semantics could provide a clue to the meaning of perfective. This claim is made on the assumption that the category of aspect has some semantic component, an assumption which is not held unanimously by Slavic linguists. There are two extremes and a spectrum of intermediate opinions available on this issue. On one side are those (in particular Avilova (1959)) who adhere to what might be termed the "lexico-grammatical dichotomy" and thus claim to draw a distinct line between what is lexical and what is grammatical, relegating aspect exclusively to the latter domain. At the opposite end are scholars (cf. Isačenko (1960) and Timberlake (1982)) who recognize interaction between the lexicon and grammar in the category of aspect. According to Isačenko (1960:220), "perfectivity is not a grammatical category, but a phenomenon on the boundary between lexical word formation and grammatical flexion." Most of the remaining scholars hold to the essential doctrine of the lexico-grammatical dichotomy, but admit some small admixture of lexical or semantic influence in aspect. Forsyth (1970:15,16), for example, clearly presents aspect as a purely grammatical phenomenon, yet on the following page mentions (unfortunately with no further elaboration) that "although lexical meaning is clearly of a different order from grammatical meaning, it nevertheless interacts with aspect to a certain extent." Bondarko and Bulanin (1967:12,47,49) similarly identify aspect as "a grammatical category... not lexico-grammatical or grammaticalized." In the same

book they define Aktionsart as a purely lexical category and state that aspect and Aktionsart are realizations of a single phenomenon, components of a meta-category which they label *aspektual'nost'* 'aspectuality'. This interpretation suggests that lexical semantics are important ingredients at least in "aspectuality," if not in aspect proper. Both Maslov (1958) and Karcevski (1962) accept the lexico-grammatical dichotomy with respect to aspect, yet treat aspect as a by-product of word formation, again hinting that lexicon may indeed be involved.

Thus, although many Slavists recognize a lexico-grammatical dichotomy in their definitions of aspect, this dichotomy is for most not absolute, and there are some who prefer to view aspect as a dynamic interaction between lexicon and grammar. The fact that even adherents to the dichotomy admit that it can break down, suggests that it may be somewhat artificial to draw a firm boundary between lexicon and grammar when dealing with aspect. The interpretation below assumes that lexical semantics do indeed play a role in producing perfectivity.

11.3 ASPECT AND PREFIXES IN THE MODIFIED STRUCTURALIST MODEL

In the modified structuralist model, the roles of the prefix and base verb in composing the prefixed perfective are clear. As illustrated in the configurations which caption the meaning of the prefix, the prefix acts as a semantic organizer in a verb; it sets the stage and gives a

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general plot to the verbal activity. The semantics of the base verb identify the actors, specify the type of action involved and fill in further details of setting, working in conjunction with the context of the utterance as a whole. The configuration depicts the contribution of the prefix: the landmark set in cognitive space is the stage, the trajector the main character, and the trajectory is the plot. Each verb which can combine with the prefix will designate the referents of the landmark and of cognitive space and assign the role of trajector to an appropriate person, object, or whatever. Thus the play outlined by a prefix can be endlessly rehearsed, its variations limited only by the available base verbs. By assigning a plot, prefixes take what are for the most part activity and state terms and give them the outlines of accomplishment and achievement terms. In other words, the relatively raw, undifferentiated activity referenced by the base verb is shaped into an "event," in Bull's sense of the word, by the prefix. I suspect that it is this organization of what is largely undifferentiatied activity into actual events that is at work in the perfectivizing property of prefixes. All configurations are consistent with Comrie's definition of perfective and it is this characteristic of prefixal meaning which accounts for the association of prefixes with perfectivization.

11.4 AKTIONSART

Bondarko (1967) notes that "in the last ten years, Slavists have gone to a lot of trouble trying to draw the line between aspect and Aktionsart," and, as we have seen above, he and Bulanin lump the two together in the "functional-semantic category" of *aspektual'nost'*. Isačenko (1960:216-217) gives perhaps the clearest characterization of what Aktionsart is: a phenomenon of some prefixed and suffixed verbs which are unpaired aspectually and which exhibit salient semantic modification of the corresponding base verbs, i.e., "one time," "inchoative," etc. Some scholars (cf. Netteberg 1962, Bondarko and Bulanin 1967) extend this definiton to include paired verbs, obscuring the supposed distinction between aspect and Aktionsart. Maslov (1962:13) asserts that "aspect and Aktionsart are intermeshed and occasionally collide." Faced with this disagreement on what constitutes Aktionsart, Isačenko (1960:219-220) points out the questionable status of Aktionsart in the traditional framework of Russian grammar, although he himself does not totally reject it.

What place does the phenomenon known as Aktionsart have in the modified structuralist model? Semantic modification by a prefix is a regular and constant procedure which, according to the present model, always accompanies prefixation. (Only a model which allows for empty prefixes and therefore for relatively strong and weak contributions of the prefix to the perfective verb could distinguish groups of prefixed perfectives according to the presence/absence of semantic modification). This is a phenomenon which is always

present, and not specific to certain verbs. In fact, an examination of the characterizations of various instantiations of Aktionsart (e.g., Bondarko and Bulanin (1967:14-20) "inchoative," "change of state," etc.) reveals that these characterizations are in many cases remarkably similar to the submeanings of the prefixes. The stipulation that Aktionsart verbs are aspectually unpaired is, as noted above, often sidestepped by Slavists. According to the present model, unpairedness is an artifact of the specific semantics of the verb and prefix and their real-world referents, being always idiosyncratic and random from any other point of view. The production of these gaps is accidental and of marginal linguistic interest.

From the standpoint of modified structualism, therefore, we can say either that Aktionsart is a regular and mandatory phenomenon of prefixation, or that it does not exist. It is impossible to distinguish from the whole any subgroup of prefixed perfectives using the criteria traditionally ascribed to Aktionsart.

Chapter XII

CONCLUSION

Given the foregoing analysis of *za-*, *pere-*, *do-*, and *ot-*, what arguments can be made for the acceptance of the modified structuralist model? First, the present model integrates examples which have previously been treated as exceptions. There are no empty prefixes; the verbs which are traditionally identified as having empty prefixes are ordinary examples of prefixed perfectives, the base verbs of which happen to bear a strong semantic similarity to the given submeaning of the prefix. The so-called fused prefixes are likewise regular instantiations of given submeanings (cf. *zabyt'* *za-*'be' 'forget', and *zastrjat'* *za-*'stick' 'get). stuck' above). Second, the modified structuralist model does what structuralists aimed to achieve: it accommodates both the diversity and unity of prefixal semantics. Thus the structuralists' goal of a unified representation of the prefix is realized without sacrificing the actual richness and variegation of its submeanings. Third, the present analysis provides indirect support for recent research in psychology indicating that human categorization is patterned according to the prototype rather than the set theory model. It would of course be impossible at this point to claim psychological reality, but current theories of cognitive psychology support the adoption of a prototype-

based category.[25]

The modified structuralist model is, however, at present newly-born and immature. Further research is required to properly establish it. Aside from complete analyses of the remaining prefixes, further investigation of the following questions is needed:

1) What semantic groups of verbs are associated with the submeanings of prefixes and how accurately can combinability be predicted given this information?
2) How can the criteria for identifying a submeaning be more clearly specified? In other words, is there any non-arbitrary way to determine what constitutes a submeaning?
3) How are apparently similar submeanings of different prefixes (e.g., <intensive>, <inchoative>) related to each other?
4) What are the inter-prototype or inter-configurational relations between prefixes? As a corollary, what is the structure of the system of prefixes as a whole?
5) What is the system of links between configurations of a single prefix? How many types of links are there and how are they ordered?

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[25] In addition to the purely linguistic advantages of the present model, it has potential as a pedagogical tool. A modified structuralist analysis of prefixes could easily be adapted for use in instruction, providing a system which is neither too disjointed (like traditional descriptions) nor too abstract (like structuralist descriptions) for students to master. In view of the fact that verbal prefixes present a major obstacle to learners of all Slavic languages, such a system could prove valuable.

6) What is the system of metaphorical extension of submeanings? What types of extension occur and how are they ordered?

7) Are there any other characteristics distinguishing para-ergative and non-ergative transitive verbs?

8) Do the two mapping patterns hold for all submeanings of all prefixes, or are there others?

It is the hope of this author that the present dissertation will inspire further research on these issues.

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APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE

(Originally presented in Cyrillic typescript)

1) Vo vremja odnogo iz poletov naš samolet takže podvergsja napadeniju vraževskogo istrebitelja.

Obyčno v vozduxe, poka vse ostavalos' spokojnym, my so šturmanom peregovarivalis'. Ne znaju, možet, ėto otvlekalo ot mračnyx myslej, a možet, prosto pomogalo korotat' vremja. V ėtot raz Kljueva zatjanula naš gvardejskij marš, a ja podxvatila. Tak my leteli, bespečno napevaja. I vdrug slux moj rezanul toroplivyj krik Ol'gi:

-- Marinka, bystree žmi vniz! Fašist dogonjaet.

Instinktivno pribavila gaz, otdala ručku ot sebja, i U-2, vzrevev motorom, ustremilsja k zemle. Nad nami razdalsja voj vraževskogo "messera," i tut že snarjady proporoli vozdux rjadom s pravoj ploskost'ju. Poka gitlerovskij letčik razvoračivalsja dlja sledujuščego zaxoda, ja izmenila kurs i snizilas' ešče. Fašist poterjal nas i, sdelav paru krugov, umčalsja otyskivat' druguju žertvu.

-- *Dopeli(s')* / *Zapeli(s')* / *Otpeli(s')* / *Perepeli(s')* "artistki"! -- serdito brosila ja v peregovornyj apparat.

-- Ničego, -- spokojno otvetila Ol'ga, -- zlej budem.

Otbombilis' my, dejstvitel'no, zlo, ugodili v samuju kolonnu.

2) Čto i govorit', esli by v naši dni nam povstrečalas' podobnaja devica ili takoj molodoj čelovek, osoboj simpatii oni by u nas ne vyzvali.

Ili mog by nam s vami byt' prijaten čelovek, kotoryj postojanno, každuju minutu napominal by vsem, čto ego *doedajut* / *zaedajut* / *ot"edajut* / *pereedajut* bloxi? Net, konečno. No v konce XVIII veka každyj, kto ne xotel vygljadet' otstajuščim ot mody, ne predstavljal sebe, kak možno pokazat'sja na ljudjax bez... blošinoj lovuški na grudi.

3) Mamen'ka, kažetsja, *doxozjajničala(s')* / *zaxozjajničala(s')* / *otxozjajničala(s')* / *perexozjajničala(s')*, nakonec, do togo, čto teper' rešitel'no, kažetsja, ne znaet, čto delat'. Dela naši po derevne, kažetsja, tak rasstroeny, kak tol'ko vozmožno.

4) Posle bolezni ja čuvstvovala sebja nevažno, bystro utomljalas', ot istoščenija často kružilas' golova. Beršanskaja ne *dogružala* / *zagružala* / *otgružala* / *peregružala* menja rabotoj. No každyj letčik byl na sčetu, i ja staralas' letat' čašče. V konce koncov molodost' vzjala svoe, i čerez nedelju ja uže rabotala v polnuju silu.

5) Bylo netrudno ubedit'sja, čto pokojnyj načal'nik, nesmotrja na svoju predannost' delu, rabotaja po starinke, mnogoe *dopustil* / *zapustil* / *otpustil* / *perepustil*. Del bylo nevprovorot. Nekogda bylo daže prostit'sja kak sleduet s usopšim.

6) Andrej čelovek ser'eznyj, no, k sožaleniju, sliškom odnostoronnij. Sejčas vidno, čto čelovek *dosidelsja* / *zosidelsja* / *otsidelsja* / *peresidel(sja)* v provincii i vse na svete merjaet svoim provincial'nym aršinom.

7) Pišča lučše usvaivaetsja, esli ee edjat s appetitom, esli bljuda dostavljajut udovol'stvie svoim vidom, cvetom, zapaxom.

Xorošo, vkusno, appetitno, vovremja poest' dosyta (no ne *dogružajas'* / *zagružajas'* / *otgružajas'* / *peregružajas'*) -- važno dija zdorov'ja, vašej rabotosposobnosti. Nepravil'noe pitanie vedet k narušeniju normal'nyx funkcij organizma, k ego preždevremennomu iznašivaniju.

8) Nastena uznala o propaže večerom, posle raboty. Mixeič za den' ne uspokoilsja: gde teper', v vojnu, voz'meš' takoj topor? Nikakogo ne voz'meš', a ètot byl slovno igrušečka -- legkij, britkij, kak raz pod ruku. Nastena slušala, kak razorjaetsja svekor, i ustalo dumala: čego už tak ubivat'sja po kakoj-to železjake, esli davno vse idet vverx tormaškami. I liš' v posteli, kogda pered zabyt'em legon'ko zanyvaet v pokoe telo, vdrug eknulo u Nasteny serdce: komu čužomu pridet v golovu zagljadyvat' pod polovicu? Ona čut' ne zadoxnulas' ot ètoj nečajanno podvernuvšejsja mysli; son srazu propal, i Nastena dolgo ležala v temnote s otkrytymi glazami, bojas'

poševel'nut'sja, čtoby ne vydat' komu-to strašnuju dogadku, to otgonjaja ee ot sebja, to snova podbiraja bliže ee tonkie, obryvajuščiesja koncy.

V ètu noč' Nastena ne vyspalas', a utrom čut' svet rešila sama zagljanut' v banju. No dverka pristyla, i Nastene prišlos' dergat' ee izo vsex sil. Net, značit, nokogo tut net, da i ne možet byt'. V bane bylo temno, malen'koe okoško, vyxodjaščee na Angaru, na zapad, tol'ko-tol'ko načinala zanimat'sja bleklym, polumertvym svetom.

Dnem Nastena vozila s gumna solomu na kolxoznyj dvor i vsjakij raz, spuskajas' s gory, kak zavoroženna ja, posmatrivala na banju. Odergivala sebja, zlilas', no pjalilas' na temnoe i uglovatoe pjatno bani snova i snova. Solomu prixodilos' vykolupyvat' iz-pod snega železnymi vilami, nabrasivaja na sani po žvačke, i za tri ezdki terpelivaja k ljuboj rabote Nastena umajalas' tak, čto xot' vedi pod ruki. Skazalas', vidno, k tomu že bessonnaja noč'. Večerom, edva poev, Nastena upala v postei' kak ubitaja. To li ej čto noč'ju prisnilos', da ona *dospala / zaspalo / otspala / perespala* i zabyla, to li na svežuju golovu palo samo, no tol'ko, prosnuvšis', ona uže točno znala, čto delat' dal'še.

9) General byl kruglyj, syten'kij i naponimal ej speluju slivu, nemnogo *doležavšujusja / zaležavšujusja / otležavšuju(sja) / pereležavšuju(sja)*, i uže pokrytuju pušinistoj plesen'ju.

10) Prežde čem načat' gotovit' obed, zavtrak ili užin, neobxodimo opredelit', k kakomu času oni dolžny byt' gotovy, i rassčitat', skol'ko na èto potrebuetsja vremeni. Sleduet pri ètom imet' v vidu, čto kak tol'ko obed, zavtrak ili užin budet gotov, ego nado totčas že podavat' na stol, inače on ostynet, poterjaet vkus, otdel'nye bljuda mogut okazat'sja *dovarennymi* ili *dožarennymi / zavarennymi* ili *zažarennymi / otvarennymi* ili *otžarennymi / perevarennymi* ili *perežarennymi*.

11) -- Beri, starik, zabiraj vsju valjutu. Beri, ne ceremon'sja, my ljudi svoi. Ja i sam raz perevoračivalsja kverxu kilem, -- začastil Kim, i tut ego poneslo. -- Da čto tam, starik, mne li tebja ne ponjat', ved' my odnoj krovi, ty da ja. Ved' ty, starik, rodom iz plemeni kumirov. Ty byl kumirom Mar'inoj Rošči, starik, v našej dalekoj pyl'noj junosti, kogda toržestvoval kontinental'nyj uklon v prirode. Ty byl znamenitym futbolistom, starik, soznajsja, ili saksofonistom v "Šestigrannike"...Bessa me, bessa me mučo...ili prosto odnim iz tex parnej, čto tak lovko obnimali za spiny tex devčonok v kleenčatyx reparacionnyx plaščax. A čto, starik, počemu

by tebe ne rvanut' so mnoj v Pixty? Xočeš', ja sejčas tranzistor tolknu i voz'mu tebe bilet? Sibir', starik, zolotaja strana El'dorado...molodye učenye, naši, naši parni, ne xanži, i nikogda ne pozdno vzjat' žizn' za xolku, starik, a ved' my s toboj mužčiny, molodye mužčiny, -- čto, starik? Ty xočeš' skazat', čto korni tvoi gluboko v asfal'te, čto Zapad est' Zapad, Vostok est' Vostok? A ja tebe na ėto otveču Alikom Gorodnickim: i mne ne razu ne prividitsja vo snax tumannyj Zapad, nevernyj lživyj Zapad...izvini, starik, ja poju... Starik, ved' ja že vižu, ty ne iz seroj stai kojotov, ty i po sportu možeš' i po časti kul'tury...a xočeš', ja ustroju tebja barmenom? Vyše golovu, starik...drug moj, brat moj, ustalyj stradajuščij brat...

Ego neslo, neslo čerez porogi styda, po valunam kosnojazyčija, bessovestnym mutnym potokom pošlosti, grafomanii, slovobludija i neizbyvnoj ljubvi, žalosti, vospominanij, a vperedi pobleskivalo zelenoe boloto poxmel'ja.

-- Ja beru u vas odinnadcat' kopeek, -- vdrug xolodnym čužim tonom skazal "starik", "kumir Mar'inoj Rošči", buduščij vernyj sputnik v zolotom neftenosnom El'dorado, i Kim srazu prikusil jazyk, ponjal, čto *dovralsja / zavralsja / otovralsja / perevral*.

-- Da beri vsju valjutu, starik, -- prolepetal on. -- Beri vse sorok vosem'.

12) Krafailovy neskol'ko mgnovenij zaderžalis' na verxnej ploščadke samoxodnogo trapa, no ėtix mgnovenij bylo dostatočno, čtoby zametit' v tolpe vstrečajuščix togo samogo polufantastičeskogo druželjuba Agafona Anan'eva, vernogo zama i po sovmestitel'stvu staršego tovaroveda torgovogo centra "Ledovityj okean".

Plutovskaja fizionomija "druželjuba" lučilas' blagostnym, počti rodstvennym čuvstvom. *Doždalis' / zaždalis' / otždalis' / pereždalis'*, govorila fizionomija, *doždalis' / zaždalis' / otždalis' / pereždalis'*, golubuški Krafailovy, prosto moči net.

13) -- Mne sejčas odno nužno, -- zagadočno skazal Tuzik. -- Vot ja sejčas Pereca razbužu.

-- Ne otxodi ot lestnicy, -- skazala Alevtina.

-- Ja ne splju, -- skazal Perec. -- Ja uže davno na vas smotrju.

-- Ottuda ničego ne vidno, -- skazal Tuzik. -- Vy sjuda idite, pan Perec, tut vse est': i ženščiny, i vino, i frukty...

Perec podnjalsja, pripadaja na *dosižennuju / zasižennuju / otsižennuju / peresižennuju* nogu, podošel k lestnice i nalil sebe iz butylki.

-- Čto vy videli vo sne, Perčik? -- sprosila Alevtina sverxu.

Perec mexaničeski vzgljanul vverx i sejčas že opustil glaza.

Čto ja videl... Kakuju-to čepuxu... Razgovarival s knigami.

On vypil i vzjal dol'ku apel'sina.

14) Nedavno u nego, v blizkoj k gorodu derevne, na maslenice, byl trexdnevnyj prazdnik, na kotorom ja *dopljasal / zapljasal / otpljasal / perepljasal* sebe nogi.

15) Čestno govorja, i s Irinoj Valentinovnoj proisxodilo čto-to neobyčnoe. Po suti dela, Šustikov Gleb skazalsja pervym mužčinoj, ne vyzvavšim v ee duše stixijnogo vozmuščenija i protesta, a, naprotiv, napolnjavšim ee dušu kakoj-to umopomračitel'noj tangoobraznoj muzykoj.

Sčast'e ee v ètot moment bylo nastol'ko polnym, čto ona daže ne ponimala, čego ej ešče ne xvataet. Ved' ne samoleta že v nebe s prekrasnym letčikom za rulem?!

Ona posmotrela v glubokoe, prekrasnoe, pronizannoe solncem nebo i uvidela padajuščij s vysoty samolet. On padal ne kamnem, a slovno peryško, slovno malen'kij kusoček serebrjanoj fol'gi, a bliže k zemle stal kuvyrkat'sja, kak gimnast na turnike.

Togda i vse ego videli.

-- Esli mne ne izmenjaet zrenie, èto samolet, -- predpoložil Vadim Afanas'evič.

-- Aga, èto Vanja Kulačenko padaet, -- podtverdil Volodja.

-- Umelo boretsja za žizn', -- odobritel'no skazal Gleb.

-- A mne za nego počemu-to strašno, -- skazala Irina Valentinovna.

-- *Dostukalsja / Zastukalsja / Otstukalsja / Perestukalsja*, Kulačenko, *dobezobrazničalsja / zabezobrazničalsja / otbezobrazničalsja / perebezobrazničalsja* -- resjumiroval starik Močenkin.

On vspomnil, kak tret'ego dnja xodil v okrestnostjax rajcentra, sčital kopny, čtob nikto ne provorovalsja, a Van'ka Kulačenko s brejuščego poleta figu emu pokazal.

16) Ja nabiraju vozdux v legkie i oru počti ne svoim golosom:

-- Kaša mannaja -- noč' tumannaja!

Xoxot bukval'no raskalyvaet vse vokrug. Aplodismenty stanovjatsja skandirovannymi.

-- Ka-ša man-na-ja! Noč' tu-man-na-ja!

Soprovoždajuščie ostanovilis' i ne mogut perevesti dux ot smexa. Ja delaju komplimenty vo vse storony...

! snova my idem, idem, idem...

I dožd' sypletsja takoj melkij, budto ego raspylili iz pul'verizatora.

Nesmotrja na èto vdol' dorogi i na zelenyx, matovyx ot tumana xolmax očen' mnogo plaščej, plaščej, plaščej, zontov, zontov, zontov...

Moi soprovoždajuščie ustali. Zatylok ušel v pleči. Dva profilja ugrjumo i mračno smotrjat vpered. Zadnij... Da, čtob on sovsem uvjaz! Mne do nego net dela.

Zonty i plašči žmutsja drug k drugu, pereminajas' s nogi na nogu. Im xolodno. No oni stojat, i my dvigaemsja meždu nimi.

-- Smexača vedut!.. Smexača vedut! -- slyšitsja vdol' sten ètogo živogo koridora. *Dosmejalsja*! / *Zasmejalsja*! / *Otsmejalsja*! / *Peresmejalsja*! Tak emu i nado! Smexača vedut!..

Molčanie i šepotki zatjagivajutsja, i ja obraščajus' k svoemu èskortu:

-- Čego priunyli?

Molčat. Tol'ko ot zonta k plašču, ot plašča k zontu šepotom peredaetsja moj vopros.

-- A mne vas žalko!..

-- Žaleet!.. On ix žaleet!.. -- šuršat zonty i plašči. -- Oni ego kaznit' vedut, a on ix žaleet... Vo, dela!..

17) Junoši i devuški dolžny ne tol'ko svjato xranit' v svoix serdcax obraz materi, no i delat' vse, čtoby u materi bylo vsegda svetlo na duše. Nastojaščie synov'ja i dočeri pozabotjatsja o tom, čtoby ix mat' ne *doutomljalas' / zautomljalas' / otutomljalas' / pereutomljalas'*, čtoby u nee ostavalos' vremja dlja otdyxa, kotoryj ona zasluživaet bol'še vsex drugix členov sem'i.

18) -- Vy tak govorite o ploxix vremenax, -- prodolžala Ljudmila, zasmejavšis', -- točno nastojaščij pomeščik. Vy sovsem *doxozjajničalis' / zaxozjajničalis' / otxozjajničalis' / perexozjajničalis'*, kažetsja.

19) Èto ty sebe nervy rasstroil. Govorila ja tebe: ne zanimajsja tak mnogo. Sidiš' po nočam, vot i *dosidelsja / zasidelsja / otsidel / peresidel*.

20) -- Axti, ja dura, -- promolvila xozjajka, vskočiv toroplivo so skam'i: -- zaboltalas' s toboj, kormilec! Čaj, u menja xleby-to *dosidelis' / zasideli(s') / otsideli / peresideli*.

21) Anfisa deda v bane *doparila / zaparila / otparila / pereparila*, a to i ešče godov pjat' prožil by.

22) On el xolodnuju, bezvkusnuju teljatinu, pil *doparennyj / zaparennyj / otparennyj / pereparennyj*, gor'kovatyj čaj.

23) Nataša v èti dve nedeli bespokojstva tak často pribegala k rebenku za uspokoeniem, tak vozilas' nad nim, čto ona *dokormila / zakormila / otkormila / perekormila* ego i on zabolel.

24) Ja o xozjajke upominaju edinstvenno potomu, čto ona v menja vljubilas' strastno i čut'-čut' ne *dokormila / zakormila / otkormila / perekormila* menja na smert'.

25) Boris kljauzničal na sotrudnikov. No kogda on dones na važnogo činovnika, *ego* osvobodili. Vot on i *doboltalsja / zaboltalsja / otboltal(sja) / pereboltal.*

26) Dlja lučšego soxranenija v ovoščax vitamina C ix sleduet zakladyvat' v kipjaščij bul'on (vodu) i varit' pri slabom kipenii. Pogruženie ovoščej v xolodnuju židkost' i postepennoe nagrevanie vlečet za soboj sil'noe razrušenie vitamina C. Po ètoj že pričine nel'zja dopuskat' i *dovarivanija / zavarivanija / otvarivanija / perevarivanija* ovoščej.

27) V zakonax raznyx stran dopuskaetsja različnoe količestvo ostajuščegosja v sušenom produkte SO2, i kolebletsja ono ot 0,005 do 0,05%. Pri okurivanii neobxodimo pomnit', čto lušče nedookurit', čem *dookurit' / zaokurit' / otokurit' / pereokurit'*. Tem bolee neobxodimo rukovodstvovat'sja ètim pravilom i potomu, čto sil'noe okurivanie seroj pridaet plodam i ovoščam neskolko neprijatnyj zapax, gor'kovatyj privkus i neprijatnyj melovoj cvet, čto počti nezametno pri normal'nom okurivanii i očen' rezko vystupaet pri *dookurivanii / zaokurivanii / otokurivanii / pereokurivanii.*

28) Plody, postupajuščie v sušku, dolžny byt' zrelymi, s naibol'šim količestvom saxara, tak kak takoe syr'e daet lučšuju produkciju s bol'šim vyxodom. *Dozrelye / Zazrelye / Otzrelye / Perezrelye* i poterjavšie tverdost' plody raspolzajutsja pri rezke i mnutsja pri sortirovke. Dlja suški neprigodny plody, imejuščie mexaničeskie povreždenija i zaražennye. Każdyj pomologičeskij sort sušat otdel'no. Sušat abrikosy kak mestnym sposobom, tak i kalifornijskim.

29) Byvalo, povedet igru Fedor Dmitrievič na svoej gitare -- prosto zaslušaeš'sja. A kak zavedet "Usy" s priščelkivan'icem, tak prosto do smerti *dopljašeš'sja / zapljašeš'sja / otpljašeš'(sja) / perepljašeš'(sja)*.

30) Kompanii zabili trevogu. Nužno bylo ubedit' ženščin, čto im sleduet nosit' šljapy. Inymi slovami, nužno bylo sozdat' modu. Za delo vzjalsja moščnyj apparat kommerčeskoj propagandy -- reklama. Otnyne krasavicy, p'juščie koka-kolu, pojavljalis' tol'ko v očarovatel'nyx šljapkax. S televizionnymi kompanijami bylo zaključeno

soglašenie, čtoby pered telezreteljami ne pojavljalis' "prostovolosye" aktrisy. Po zakazu šljapnyx magnatov kompozitory i poèty sočinili dve pesenki, kotorye v tečenie mnogix nedel' bukval'no "viseli" v èfire. Tekst ètix pesenok ne byl *dogružen / zagružen / otgružen / peregružen* bol'šim filosofskim soderžaniem. Odna iz nix nazyvalas' "Šljapa mne k licu" i v pjati kupletax vyrazala burnuju radost' po ètomu povodu. V drugoj soobščalos', čto imenno šljapka poslužila povodom k ljubovnoj istorii.

31) Nekul'turnost' i ègoističnost' možet projavit'sja i v *dotjanuvšemsja / zatjanuvšemsja / ottjanuvšemsja / peretjanuvšemsja* telefonnom razgovore, kogda u budki ždut drugie ljudi, i v popytke bez očeredi kupit' gazetu ili, ottolknuv soseda, pervomu vojti v trollejbus.

32) Doma Kuz'mu ždal Evgenij Nikolaevič.

-- *Doguljalsja / Zaguljalsja / Otguljalsja / Pereguljal* ty, Kuz'ma, *doguljalsja / zaguljalsja / otguljalsja / pereguljal*. A ja sižu i dumaju: esli gora ne idet k Magometu, Magomet sam idet k gore.

-- Davno ždeš', Evgenij Nikolaevič?

-- Tak, davnen'ko uže. No rešil sidet' do pobednogo konca. Ja takoj čelovek: esli poobeščal -- nado sdelat'.

33) Byla žara i duxota... Jakov že Nazaryč s utra do noči el botvin'ju i okrošku so l'dom i edva ne *doelsja / zaelsja / ot"el(sja) / pereel* do xolery.

34) Posle obeda aktery spali tjaželym, nezdorovym snom... Vo vremja sna oni *doleživali / zaleživali / otleživali / pereleživali* sebe ruki, nogi i daže golovy.

35) Ja ležal na divane s kakim-to glupym perevodnym francuzskim romanom i *doležalsja / zaležalsja / otležal / pereležal(sja)* do golovnoj boli.

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36) Nikolaju ne nravilos', kak èti ljudi edjat: Budilov bral lepeški, slovno brezguja; potom, oščupav kusok gubami, neoxotno vtjagival ego v rot i medlenno, slovno po objazannosti, ževal, sorja kroškami; vse èto kazalos' parnju neprijatnym loman'em čeloveka izbalovannogo i *doevšegosja* / *zaevšegosja* / *ot"evšego(sja)* / *pereevšego(sja)*.

37) Semen Terent'evič kljalsja i daval prepoleznye, xotja i zapozdalye nastavlenija. -- Ax, bože moj, -- govoril on, vpleskivaja rukami: -- vot tebe i na, vot tebe i *doguljalis'* / *zaguljalis'* / *otguljali(s')* / *pereguljali(s')*! Nu, skaži, radi boga, Karpuša, čto my s toboj nadelali?

38) Byvalo, nam ničto jazyk ne svjažet. Vrut, xot' serdis', xot' ne serdis'! Zato i *dovralis'* / *zavralis'* / *otvrali* / *perevrali*.

39) Pro vralej govorjat naši poslovicy, čto "odin vral -- ne dovral, drugoj vral -- *dovralsja* / *zavralsja* / *otvral* / *perevral*, tret'emu ničego ne ostalos'".

40) Sima sčitaet u stojki vyručku, slyšit za spinoj kosorotye otkrovenija svoego izbrannika.

--...i on zovet menja, direktor-padlo, k sebe na zavod, a ja emu govorju, ja p'janyj, a on mne govorit, ja tebja v naš medpunkt otvedu, tam tebja dovedut do normy, a kakaja u menja kvalifikacija, ètogo ja tebe, Gleb, ne skažu...

-- Volod'ka, končaj zenki nalivat', -- govorit Sima. -- Zavtra povezeš' taru na stanciju.

Ona otdergivaet zanavesku i smotrit, ulybajas', na parnej, potjagivaetsja svoim bol'šim, sladkim svoim telom.

-- Skopilas' u menja bočkotara, mal'čiki, -- govorit ona tomno, mnogosmyslenno, tumanno, -- skopilas' *dotovarilas'* / *zatovarilas'* / *ottovarila(s')* / *peretovarila(s')*, zacvela želtym cvetkom...kak v gazetax pišut...

Čto ž, Serafima Ignat'evna, bud'te krepko zdorovy, -- govorit Šustikov Gleb, pružinisto vstavaja, popravljaja obmundirovanie. -- Zavtra otbyvaju po mestu služby. Da vot Volodja menja do stancii i podbrosit.

41) Fu, *doparilas' / zaparilas' / otparila(s') / pereparilos'*. Ele-ele dognala Egora Timofeiča.

42) V drugoe vremja paren', naverno, scepilsja by sporit', no sejčas emu ne do togo. Berežno, postanyvaja i pokrjaxivaja, on opuskaetsja vniz i tam priznaetsja:

-- Golova treščit, -- spasu net!

-- Kak *že* ej, golubčik, ne treščat', kogda ty ee sovsem *domučil / zamučil / otmučil / peremučil*, -- govorit staruxa.

Paren' čerez silu ulybaetsja.

-- Čudnaja ty. Govorit, golovu svoju *domučil / zamučil / otmučil / peremučil*. Menja baba moja pilit, čto ja ee *domučil / zamučil / otmučil / peremučil*, a ty govoriš', golovu.

43) -- Pljaši. -- Rad by, da ne mogu, blagodetel': nogi ne služat. Bylo vremja, pljasyval ja. Pljasal, pljasal, da i *dopljasalsja / zapljasalsja / otpljasal / perepljasal(sja)*.

44) *Doelis' / Zaelis' / Ot"eli(s') / Pereeli(s')* gospoda-to, da i obveštala utroba ix v rabote nad piščej, vkusnoj i obil'noj!

45) Četvero kazakov vedut menja na dopros. Zatylok, dva profilja... A zadnij -- predatel'. Za porciju kompota on skazal im, gde ja prjačus'. Vokrug rebjatnja. "Razbojnika pojmali!.. Razbojnika pojmali!.."

-- A vaša vožataja, -- govorju ja, -- fizkul'turnikom zažataja!

-- A tvoja vožataja -- zavxozom zažataja, -- govorit zatylok.

-- A ugadaj, čto segodnja na užin? -- sprašivaju ja.

-- Mannaja kaša, -- otvečaet zatylok.

-- Kaša mannaja -- noč' tumannaja! -- vykrikivaju ja dovol'nyj tem, čto podlovil ego.

Rebjata zakatyvajutsja. Odin ot smexa padaet s dereva.

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-- *Dosmeeš'sja / zasmeeš'sja / otsmeeš'sja / peresemeš'sja*! -- zlo šepeljavit zatylok.

"Spat', spat' po palatam", -- protjažno poet pionerskij gorn. Tol'ko èto ne gorn. Èto vysoko-vysoko za oblakami beskonečno-odinoko zvučit truba Majlsa Dejvisa...

46) V našej strane mnogoe delaetsja dlja togo, čtoby osvobodit' ženščinu ot tjagot domašnego xozjajstva, oblegčit' ee trud v bytu. Odnako ne sekret, čto na pleči ženščiny poka ešče ložitsja bol'šaja nagruzka: i rabota na proizvodstve, i vospitanie detej, i zaboty o domašnem ujute.

I vse že, nesmotrja na to, čto vse my znaem ob ètom, možno vstretit' junošej i devušek, zloupotrebljajuščix čuvstvami svoix materej. Oni privykli k materinskoj zabote: im nado vse prigotovit', podat' na stol, prinesti, prišit' pugovicu, pogladit' plat'e. A to, čto mat' možet *doutomit'sja / zautomit'sja / otutomit'sja / pereutomit'sja*, nadorvat' svoe zdorov'e, -- ob ètom oni malo dumajut. Kak materinskaja zabota ne znaet granic, tak ègoizmu nekotoryx detej net predela.

47) Perec prosnulsja ottogo, čto xolodnye pal'cy tronuli ego za goloe plečo. On otkryl glaza i uvidel, čto nad nim stoit čelovek v ispodnem. Sveta v komnate ne bylo, no čelovek stojal v lunnoj polose, i bylo vidno ego beloe lico s vytaraščennymi glazami.

-- Vam čego? -- šepotom sprosil Perec.

-- Očistit' nado, -- tože šepotom skazal čelovek.

"Da èto že komendant", -- s oblegčeniem podumal Perec.

-- Počemu očistit'? -- sprosil on gromko i pripodnjalsja na lokte. -- Čto očistit'?

-- Gostinica *dopolnena / zapolnena / otpolnena / perepolnena*.

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